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FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE IN POSSESSION OF WM GORDON CUMING

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LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED
SCOTSMEN,
FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME,
ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER,
AND FORMING A COMPLETE
SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

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SIR JOHN MOORE R. B.



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BISHOP OF SALISBURY.





James, by S. P. 1800

REV. JAMES GRAHAM

FROM A MINIATURE IN POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY.



Engr'd by G. Kneller

CARLETON COLCLOUGHON ESQ. LL.D.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY

Published by Blackie & Son Glasgow



Eng^d by P. Helli

ROBERT HAMILTON D.D. M.R.S.E.

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS, MARIS-HAL COLLEGE, ABERDEEN

from the Original in the Possession of the Family

tined to follow the same profession. Having lost his father, however, in his eighth year, this scheme was given up, and he was placed with some relations of his mother in Leith, who, it appears, treated the poor orphan boy with great cruelty—almost to the hazard of his life. He also was oftener than once, while in this situation, in danger of drowning in Leith harbour.

At the age of thirteen, he was placed by his mother with a barber in Dalkeith, whom he served for six years; he then set up in Edinburgh, having first paid about forty pounds to the society of surgeon-barbers for the freedom of the corporation, and soon after married a young woman, by whom he had eleven children, all of whom long predeceased himself. The trade of a barber was then more lucrative, and consequently more dignified than latterly. Kay had good employment in dressing the wigs, and trimming the heads, of a certain number of gentlemen every morning, all of whom paid him a certain annual sum (generally about four guineas,) for his trouble. Among his customers was a fine specimen of the old Jacobite country gentleman, Mr Nisbet of Dirleton, who took a great fancy for him, and frequently took him to the country, to the great injury of his business. Kay had, even in his boyhood, when residing in Leith, manifested a turn for sketching familiar objects, such as horses, dogs, ships, &c., using chalk or coal, and tracing his delineations on such pieces of dead wall as presented a large enough ground. Now and then, in later life, he had made some attempts in miniatures and pencil sketches. It may easily be conceived that, finding this talent within himself, and encouraged by a man of rank in developing it, he found some difficulty in restraining himself to the humble career which destiny seemed to have marked out for him. At Mr Nisbet's country-seat, he, for the first time found proper opportunities and proper materials for his favourite study; while any compunctious visitings he might feel as to the danger to which he thus exposed the permanent livelihood of himself and family, were laid to rest by the kindness of his patron, who, in the meantime, sent money to support his domestic establishment in Edinburgh, and promised speedily to obtain for him some permanent provision, which should render him independent of business. Unfortunately, in 1782, Mr Nisbet died, without having executed his kind intention; and Mr Kay was left in somewhat awkward circumstances, having, as it were, fallen to the ground between certainty and hope. The heir, however, so far repaired the omission of his predecessor, as to settle an annuity of twenty pounds upon Kay for life.

He now began effectually to follow out his bent for limning and etching, and, after a few trials, abandoned his trade as a barber. In 1784, he published his first caricature, which represented a half-crazed Jacobite gentleman, named laird Robertson, who was wont to amuse the citizens of Edinburgh by cutting caricatured resemblances of public characters, which he fixed on the head of his stick, and whose figure was perfectly known to all the inhabitants. The portrait, accordingly, excited some attention, and the author was induced to attempt others. The style assumed by Mr Kay was the stippled or dotted style, and nothing could equal the felicity of the likeness. From that time forward, till he was about eighty years of age, this untutored son of genius pursued his vocation, taking off, one after another, the whole of the public and eccentric persons who appeared in the Scottish capital, and occasionally caricaturing any jocular incident that happened to attract attention. To speak of his portraits as caricatures is doing them signal injustice. They were the most exact and faithful likenesses that could have been represented by any mode of art. He drew the man as he walked the street every day: his gait, his costume, every peculiarity of his appearance, done to a point, and no defect perceptible except the stiffness of the figures. Indeed, he may be said to have rather resembled one of the prosopo-

graphuses or apographs of modern times, than a living artist trusting to his eye and hand. Hence, nothing can be more valuable in the way of engraved portraits, than his representations of the distinguished men who adorned Edinburgh in the latter part of the eighteenth century—the Blairs, the Smiths, and the Robertsons. It was only in certain instances that his productions could be considered as caricatures, namely, in those combinations by which he meant to burlesque any ridiculous public transaction : and even here, his likenesses displayed all his usual correctness. During a considerable part of his career, Mr Kay was a professed caricaturist, and executed some specimens which, for delicacy and finish, would surprise such individuals as have only been accustomed to inspect his published etchings. It is said, that his only fault in this capacity, was a rigid and unbending adherence to likeness—a total want of the courtly system practised, in so eminent a degree, by Lawrence and other fashionable painters. Once, it is related, he was “trysted” with an exceedingly ill-looking man, much pimpled, who, to add to the distresses of the artist, came accompanied by a fair nymph to whom he was about to be married. Honest Kay did all he could in favour of this gentleman, so far as omitting the ravages of bacchanalianism would go ; but still he could not satisfy his customer, who earnestly appealed to his inamorata as to the injustice which he conceived to be done to him, and the necessity of improving the likeness, for so he termed the flattery which he conceived to be necessary. Quite tired at length with this literally ugly customer, and greatly incensed, the miniaturist exclaimed, with an execration, that he would “paint every plook in the puppy’s face : would that please him !” It is needless to remark, that in this, as in other instances, Mr Kay lost by his unbending accuracy of delineation.

During almost the whole of his career as an artist, Mr Kay had a small print-shop in the Parliament Square, the window of which was usually stuck full of his productions. He etched in all nearly nine hundred plates, forming a complete record of the public characters, of every grade and kind, including many distinguished strangers, who made a figure in Edinburgh for nearly half a century. It may be safely affirmed, that no city in the empire can boast of so curious a chronicle. From the first to the last, there is a remarkable similarity in his style. After forty years’ experience, he was just as deficient in grouping, and other acquired gifts in the art, as when he first began to use the graver. It would almost appear as if nature had designed him for that peculiar style alone ; in which he so much excelled all other men, and had denied him every common effect of his art, which other men generally attain with ease.

In a profile of himself, executed about the year 1785, Mr Kay appears with a handsome aquiline countenance, of much delicacy and ingenuity of expression. In his latter days, when the writer of this notice first saw him, he was a slender but straight old man, of middle size, and usually dressed in a garb of antique cut ; of simple habits, and quiet, unassuming manners. His head was of a singular structure, presenting a very remarkable protuberance in the forehead, where phrenologists, we believe, place the organs of observation : in Kay, the profile of this feature formed the arc of a perfect circle, beginning under the hair, and terminating at the root of the nose. According to the information of his widow, (a second spouse, whom he married in 1787,) he cared for, and could settle at no employment, except that of etching likenesses. He would suddenly quit his lucrative employment in miniature-drawing, in order to commit some freak of his fancy to copper, from which, perhaps, no profit was to be hoped for. It was the conviction of this lady, that, if he had devoted himself to the more productive art, he would soon have acquired a competency.

Mr Kay died in his house in the High Street of Edinburgh, some time in the

year 1830. It was the intention of the late Mr Archibald Constable, bookseller, to purchase the copper-plates of his works, and republish them in a systematic form, with memoirs and notes referring to the characters; but the failure of the house with which that individual was connected, prevented the design from being carried into execution. Such a work would have been of great local interest, even in a generation comparatively unacquainted with the subjects of the prints.

KEILL, JAMES, a physician and philosopher of eminence, the younger brother of the celebrated person whose memoir follows this in alphabetical order, was born in Scotland, on the 27th of March, 1673. He received his early education in Edinburgh, afterwards studying the sciences and languages at Leyden and other continental universities. On his return to Britain, he applied himself assiduously to the acquisition of a knowledge of anatomy, studying the science practically, by constant attendance at the dissecting rooms. Having accustomed himself to deliver his opinions on anatomy privately to his friends, he at last undertook public tuition, and delivered, with considerable applause, lectures on anatomy, at Oxford and Cambridge, by the latter of which universities he was presented with the degree of doctor of medicine. In 1698, he translated from the French, Lemery's Course of Chemistry, and soon after published in the Philosophical Transactions "An account of the death and dissection of John Bayles of Northampton, reputed to have been one hundred and thirty years old."¹ To No. 361 of the same journal, he gave "De viribus cordis epistola." In 1708, he published "An account of animal secretion, the quantity of blood in the human body, and muscular motion." On the subject of animal secretion, and the manner in which the fluids of the animal body are separated from the blood, he undertakes to show: 1. How they are formed in the blood before they come to the place appointed for secretion; 2. In what manner they are separated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former head he shows, that the blood consists of a simple fluid, in which swim corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of such particles as the blood consists of, must the fluids be composed, which are drawn from it. This he proceeds to show to be not only possible, but actually so in several secretions. From this principle, that the blood consists of corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with various degrees of attractive power, &c., he attempts to show the force of the air upon the blood, in breathing, in order to demonstrate that by the pressure of the air, the cohesion of the globules of the blood is dissolved. After this, he shows how the union of the attractive particles is hindered near the heart, and that the particles which unite first, after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, must be such as have the strongest attractive force; and that such as have the least, must unite last; and all the intermediate ones according to their respective attractive power."² Besides this work, Keill published "Anatomy of the Human Body," for the use of his pupils, and in 1717, "Essays on several parts of the Human Economy." He appears to have given up public tuition, and some time previously to the publication of his last work, to have established himself as a practising physician at Northampton, where he gained considerable fortune and reputation, and remained till his death, which took place in July 16, 1719, from a cancer in his mouth. He was buried in the church of St Giles, where his brother John, to whom he left his property, erected a handsome monument to his memory.

KEILL, JOHN, an eminent mathematician and natural philosopher, the elder brother of the preceding, was born in Edinburgh, on the 1st of December,

¹ Phil. Trans., xxv. 2, 247.

² Martin's Biographia Philosophica, 460.

1671.¹ He received the rudiments of education in the schools of his native city, and remained at the Edinburgh university until he was enabled to take the degree of master of arts. He early displayed a genius and predilection for mathematics, and had the good fortune to study the science, along with the Newtonian system of philosophy, under Dr Gregory. When, in the year 1694, Gregory went to try his fortune in England, Keill followed him, and contrived along with him to find admission to Oxford, where he held one of the Scottish exhibitions in Baliol college. Keill made his first appearance before the scientific world in his "Examination of Dr Burnet's Theory of the Earth, together with some remarks on Mr Whiston's new Theory of the Earth," published at Oxford in the year 1698. Any "Theory of the Earth," or account of its formation and state, in anticipation of the discovery of facts to support it, always forms a fruitful subject of debate; but Burnet's Theory afforded more ample field for censure than any other which pretended to support from the enlightened doctrines of modern philosophy. The grand outlines of his theory were of themselves sufficiently imaginative, and their effect was increased by the curious speculations with which he filled up the minor details of his edifice. He supposes the earth to have been originally a heterogeneous mass of fluid matter, of which the heavier portions fell to the centre, forming there a dense body, surrounded and coated by lighter bodies, while the water—the lightest of all the heterogeneous mass, remained on the outside of the whole. The air and other celestial fluids floated round this body: while between it and the water was gradually formed a coat of unctuous or oily matter, higher than water. Upon this unctuous coat, certain impure particles which had at first been mingled with the air, descended, and floating about covered the surface, forming a shell over the water, which became the crust of the earth. The crust thus formed was level and uniform, without hill or vale; so it remained for about sixteen centuries, until the heat of the sun having cracked it in divers places, the water rushed forth, causing the general deluge. This water found, however, a means of partially subsiding, betwixt the broken masses of the crust, and thus leaving the globe in the state of ocean, hill, and valley.

Keill, who, besides being a man of accurate science, was a person of clear good sense and critical acumen, saw clearly the evil done to science, by the admission of suppositions which have a fully greater chance of being wrong than of being right, while the richness of the doctor's imagination, and the poetic beauty of his language and illustration, did not protect his principles from a subjection to the strict rules of logic. Keill's book is full of the clear argumentation of a man who is rather formed to correct and check the discoveries of others, than to allow his invention to stray so far as to make any of his own. He occasionally condescends to use demonstration, while, well knowing that there may be positions against which the gravity of an argument is misapplied, he makes very frequent use of sarcasm, a power of which he is an accomplished and apt handler. Most of the vigour of the attack is derived from the manner in which the different parts of the theory are found inconsistent with each other, without any very extensive reference to other authority. "After this fashion," says Keill, after giving an outline of Burnet's first formation of the earth, "has the theorist formed his antediluvian habitable world, which doth not much differ from the Cartesian method of making the earth: only Des Cartes, being somewhat wiser than the theorist, would not allow the outward crust, within whose bowels the waters were shut up, to be a habitable earth, knowing well that neither man nor beast could live long without water. But he made the crust first be broken, and the waters flow out, before he placed any inhabitants on it.

¹ Martin's *Biographia Philosophica*, 457.

Another small difference betwixt the two hypotheses is, that Monsieur Des Cartes never thought of making the exterior orb of oily liquids, which the theorist asserts to be absolutely necessary towards the formation of the crust; for if it were not, says he, for the oily liquor which swims upon the surface of the abyss, the particles of earth which fell through the air had sunk to the bottom, and had never formed the exterior orb of earth. But notwithstanding this, I believe it may be easily made evident (though neither of these systems is true), that the theorist's hypothesis is the worse of the two, which I will prove from his own concessions: for he has already owned that the oily liquor is much lighter than the watery orb. He has mentioned also, that the terrestrial particles when falling from the air, if the orb were only water, would sink to the bottom; and therefore these particles must be heavier than water. From thence I think it does necessarily follow, that these terrestrial particles must also be heavier than the oily fluid, which is lighter than water, and therefore they will more easily descend through it than they did through water, it being well known that there are several bodies which will swim in water, but sink in oil."²

Proceeding on such positions, Keill destroys what has been raised by his adversary, wisely substituting nothing in its stead, except what experiment and demonstration support; the general aim of the principles he espouses being, that, excepting in so far as we know by experiment the operation of nature, we must take the cosmogony of the earth, either literally as we find it laid down in holy writ, or, admitting our inability to penetrate into its secrets, be content with what is afforded us by experience, demonstration, and rational or certain deduction. Whiston, in his "New Theory of the Earth, from its original to the consummation of all things," maintained, that the Mosaic account of the creation did not give a philosophical account of the formation of the universe, but that it was merely intended, in the most simple and intelligible manner, to give a history of the formation of the globe we inhabit; that before being brought into existence as an inhabited world, it had been a comet, which being subject to perpetual reverses from heat to cold, became by the alternate congealing and melting of its surface, covered with a coat of heterogeneous matter or a chaos, within which the solid nucleus formed a great burning globe. This great mass of matter, as the eccentricities of its orbit decreased, became more nearly circular, and the materials ranging themselves according to their gravities, assumed at the period of the "creation" the forms of earth, water, and air. If this theory does not possess any recommendation to our belief superior to that claimed by Burnet, its author had at least the art, to found a greater number of his conclusions on experiments, and to deduce others in a less imaginative manner. Keill treats this adversary with more respect than he affords to the theoretic Burnet, seldom proving his positions "impossible," and generally contenting himself with being sceptical; he allows that the author "has made greater discoveries, and proceeded on more philosophical principles than all the theorists before him have done."

Keill's small work is often referred to as authority by geologists and natural philosophers; it contains many experimental calculations, among which is that estimate of the depth of the sea, on which Breislak in later times founded his celebrated calculation, that there never could have been a sufficient quantity of water in and about our globe to have kept the matter of it at any time in solution. It was considered by many, that Keill had used the venerable doctor Burnet, much his elder in years, a scholar, and a man esteemed for his private virtues, with too much asperity and unbecoming sarcasm. It appears that the

² Examination, 57, 38.

respective theorists answered the attack, although in what manner we have been unable to discover.

In 1699, Keill published a rejoinder, entitled "An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth, together with a defence of the Remarks on Mr Whiston's New Theory." The Defence of the Theory appears by no means to have infused into Keill a greater spirit of politeness. He proceeds with the impatience of a man of sense and knowledge interrupted, terminating with an advice to Burnet to study "numbers and magnitude, astronomy and statics; that," he continues, "he may be the better able to understand the force of my arguments against his Theory, after which I doubt not but that he will easily perceive its errors, and have the ingenuity to acknowledge them. But till then, all farther disputation between him and me must needs be vain and frivolous, since true reasoning on natural philosophy depends on such principles as are demonstrated in those sciences, the knowledge of which he has not yet attained."³ To his other opponent, Whiston, Keill has in this work, probably owing to the manner in which he was answered, forgot his former courtesy, treating him with no more deference than he has used toward Burnet.

In 1700, Dr Thomas Millington, Sedelian professor of natural philosophy in Oxford, on his appointment as physician in ordinary to the king, substituted Keill as his assistant, to read his public lectures; and the term for enjoying the Scottish exhibition at Baliol college then expiring, he accepted an invitation from Dr Aldrich, dean of Christ's church, to reside there. As his master Gregory was the first who introduced the Newtonian philosophy to the universities, Keill himself possesses the reputation of having been the first to demonstrate its principles on experiment; a task he is said to have performed through machinery of his own invention, but of what description, or to what extent he proceeded in his proofs, we are not informed.

In 1701, Keill published his "Introductio ad Veram Physicam," a useful and popular treatise on the Newtonian Philosophy. It is considered as an excellent introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, and has frequently been reprinted in England, and in a French translation. About the year 1708, Keill was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society, and after his admission he published in the Philosophical Transactions a pretty lengthy paper, "in which the laws of attraction, and other principles of physic are shown."⁴ At this period, the scientific world became disturbed by the dispute which had assumed the aspect of a national question, whether Leibnitz formed his idea of the doctrine of fluxions from some unpublished discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, and which of these two great men could properly be considered the inventor of that sublime addition to the power of the human intellect. In the *Acta Eruditorum* published at Leipsic, it was maintained that Leibnitz was the sole inventor, all right on the part of Newton being denied. To this Keill answered in a paper which he communicated to the Royal Society, defending his friend without much regard to the accusations which he brought against his opponent.

In 1711, Leibnitz complained to the Royal Society, that Keill had accused him of obtaining and publishing his knowledge in a manner not reputable to a philosopher, or even exactly consistent with honesty; he appealed to Sir Isaac himself as a witness of his integrity, and required that Keill should publicly disavow the offensive construction which might be applicable to his words. The Royal Society being appealed to as philosophical judges in the matter, appointed a committee to examine the papers and documents connected with the dispute,

³ Examination of the Reflections, 160.

⁴ *Epistola ad clar. Vir: Gulielmum Cockburn, Medicinæ Doctorem*—in qua *Leges Attractionis Aliaque Physicæ Principia traduntur*.—Phil. Trans., xxvi. 97.

who did not find it difficult to produce a report rather unfavourable to the continental philosopher, bearing "That Mr Leibnitz was in London in 1673, and kept a correspondence with Mr Collins, by means of Mr Oldenburgh, till September, 1676, when he returned from Paris to Hanover, by way of London and Amsterdam; that it did not appear that M. Leibnitz knew anything of the differential calculus before his letter of the 21st June, 1677, which was a year after a copy of a letter wrote by Sir Isaac Newton, in the year 1672, had been sent to Paris to be communicated to him, and about four years after Mr Collins began to communicate that letter to his correspondents; wherein the method of fluxions was sufficiently explained to let a man of his sagacity into the whole matter: and that Sir I. Newton had even invented his method before the year 1669, and of consequence fifteen years before Mr. Leibnitz had given anything on the subject in the Leipsic acts;" from which train of circumstances they concluded that Keill was justified in his imputations. The censure of the society, and the papers connected with it, were published apart from the Transactions in 1712, under the title "*Commercium Epistolicum de Analysi Promota.*" For some time the philosopher appears not to have answered this array against him, until the Abbe Conti, in the year 1716, addressed him, calling on him, if he did not choose to answer Keill, at least to vindicate himself from the non-admission of his claim on the part of Newton;⁵ and he just commenced the work of vindication at a period when death prevented him from completing it.

In the year 1709, Keill was appointed treasurer to the Palatines, and in performance of his duties, attended them in their passage to New England. On his return in 1710, he was appointed successor to Dr Caswell, Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford. At this period, he again entered the field of controversy, in support of his friend Sir Isaac Newton, whose philosophy had been attacked on the foundation of Des Cartes's theory of a plenum; and he published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1713, a communication to the society, on the rarity of matter and the tenuity of its composition.⁶ In this controversy, he was, however, interrupted by his appointment to the situation of decypherer to the queen, and he was soon afterwards presented with the degree of doctor of medicine, by the university of Oxford. About this period we find him gratefully remembered by that unfortunate scholar Simon Oakley, for having permitted him the use of the Savilian study.⁷

Keill, in the year 1717, took to himself a wife. The name of the lady who made him the happiest of men, has not been preserved; but it is said he married her "for her *singular* accomplishments." In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1739, we find a curious Horatian ode, addressed to Keill by the celebrated Anthony Alsop; its period of publication is some years after the death of both the parties, and there is no comment alluding to the date of its composition; but the circumstances mentioned show it to be a congratulatory epistle to Keill on his marriage. The ode is extremely spirited and not destitute of elegance; but whether from other motives, or the anxiety of the author to reach the familiar vivacity of the Roman lyrist, he has treated his grave subject in a manner which would not now be considered very worthy of a divine, or to convey a pleasing compliment to a venerable professor. The subject was one of some delicacy to Alsop, who was then enjoying a species of banishment, the consequence of a verdict obtained against him for breach of a contract of marriage;

⁵ Published in the Phil. Trans., xxx. 924.

⁶ Theoremata quædam infinitam materiæ divisibilitatem spectantia, quæ ejusdem raritatem et tenuem compositionem demonstrant, quorum ope plurimæ in physica tolluntur difficultates.—*Phil. Trans.*, xxviii. 82.

⁷ Nichols's Literary Anecdotes.

ficial despatches of general Sir Henry Clinton. The experience which he thus acquired was of great service to him long afterwards, when he had a more prominent and distinguished part to perform.

In 1780, having returned to England with despatches from admiral Arbuthnot, he was, on his arrival, appointed to the command of the *Warwick* of fifty guns. In the general election, which took place this year, he was chosen member of parliament for Dumbartonshire, where his family possessed some influence; and he was one of those who met at the St Alban's tavern, to attempt a reconciliation between Messrs Fox and Pit and the duke of Portland, with the view of forming what was called "a broad-bottomed administration." This attempt, as is well known, proved unsuccessful. In the following year, as he was cruising down the channel in his ship the *Warwick*, he encountered the *Rotterdam*, a Dutch ship of war, bearing fifty guns and three hundred men. The manner in which he attacked this vessel and compelled her to strike—more especially as the engagement happened immediately after the *Iris*, a ship of equal force, had been baffled in the attempt—gained captain Elphinstone much public notice. Soon after this, he went out to the coast of America, where he served during the remainder of this disastrous war. While on this station, he, in company with other three British vessels of war, captured the French frigate *L'Aigle* of forty guns, (twenty-four pounders, on the main deck,) and a crew of 600 men, commanded by count de la Touche. Unfortunately for the captors, the enemy's captain escaped to shore with the greater part of a large quantity of specie which was on board the frigate. Two small casks and two boxes, however, of this valuable commodity fell into the hands of the victors. Along with the captain, there also escaped several officers of high rank, and amongst them the commander-in-chief of the French army in America. During his service on the American coast, captain Elphinstone had the honour to receive on board his ship as midshipman, prince William Henry, afterwards king William IV.; a distinction the more flattering, that the choice of the ship and officer was made by his royal highness himself. At the close of the war, when the subject of our memoir returned to Britain, the prince of Wales appointed him for life to be secretary and chamberlain of the principality of Wales.

In April, 1787, captain Elphinstone married Jane, daughter of William Mercer, Esq. of Aldie, in the county of Perth, a lady of large property, by whom he had a daughter, now viscountess Keith, and wife of count Flahault, late aide-du-camp to the emperor Napoleon. In 1786, captain Elphinstone was chosen to represent the shire of Stirling. The breaking out of the French war in 1793, opened a new field for his enterprise and activity, and soon after the occurrence of that event he was appointed to the *Robust* of seventy-four guns, and sailed under the command of lord Hood to the Mediterranean. The object for which the latter had been sent to these seas was to endeavour to effect a co-operation with the royalists in the south of France. In this his lordship so far succeeded, that the sections of Toulon immediately proclaimed Louis XVII. under a promise of protection from the British fleet, and Marseilles was only prevented from taking a similar step by the approach of a republican army. Before taking possession of Toulon, which was part of the arrangement made with the French by lord Hood, it was deemed proper to secure the forts which commanded the ships in the roads, and for this duty fifteen hundred men were landed under captain Keith, who, after effecting this service, was directed to assume the command of the whole, as governor of fort Malgue. In a few days afterwards general Carteaux appeared, at the head of a detachment of the republican army, on the heights near Toulon. Captain Elphinstone, placing himself at the head of a small body of British and Spanish soldiers, instantly marched out to attack him, and after

a gallant contest, completely routed the enemy, and captured his artillery, ammunition, horses, and two stand of colours.

In the October following, captain Elphinstone, with lord Mulgrave and rear-admiral Gravina, at the head of a combined force of British, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, obtained another complete victory over a detachment of the French army, consisting of nearly 2000 men, at the heights of Pharon. In this engagement the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about 1500 men, while on the part of the allied force it amounted only to eight killed, seventy-two wounded, two missing, and forty-eight prisoners.

These successes, however, were insufficient to secure the British in possession of Toulon. The whole force of the republicans became directed to their expulsion; and, finding the place no longer tenable, it was determined, though not without much reluctance, to abandon it. In pursuance of this resolution, the whole of the combined troops, to the number of 8000 men, together with several thousand royalists, were embarked on board the British ships early in the morning of the 8th December, without the loss of a single man. This important service was superintended by captains Elphinstone, Hallinel, and Matthews; and it was principally owing to the care, attention, and vigorous exertions of these officers, and more especially of the first, that it was so well and speedily accomplished. Captain Elphinstone's efficient services on this and some of the immediately preceding occasions procured him high encomiums from both lord Hood and lieutenant-general Dundas. On his return to England, which was in the year 1794, he was invested with the knighthood of the Bath, having been previously promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and in July the same year was made rear-admiral of the white, and in this capacity hoisted his flag on board the *Barfleur* of ninety-eight guns, and in the year following, having shifted his flag to the *Monarch*, he sailed with a small squadron for the Cape of Good Hope, then in the possession of the Dutch.

A war being about to commence between Great Britain and the Batavian republic, the object of admiral Elphinstone was to reduce the settlements at the Cape, a service which he effectually accomplished, besides capturing a squadron which had been sent out for its defence. On the completion of this important undertaking he returned to England, now advanced to the rank of vice-admiral; and the cabinet was so highly gratified with the great service he had rendered his country by securing to it so valuable a colony as that of the Cape, that they conferred upon him yet further honours.

In 1797, he was created an Irish peer by the title of baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal, and shortly after assumed the command of a detachment of the channel fleet. In this year also, he was presented by the directors of the East India company with a splendid sword, valued at 500 guineas, as an acknowledgment for his eminent services. In 1798, lord Keith hoisted his flag on board the *Foudroyant*, and sailed for the Mediterranean as second in command under the earl St Vincent, who was already there with a large fleet.

Early in the beginning of the following year, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and on the occasion of a temporary indisposition of earl St Vincent, assumed the entire command of the fleet. Here he continued employed in blockading the Spanish fleet till May, 1799, when he went in pursuit of the Brest fleet. His search, however, being unsuccessful, he returned to England. In November, he again sailed for the Mediterranean, to take the command of the fleet there, and which was now wholly resigned to him in consequence of the increasing illness of the earl St Vincent. While in this command lord Keith performed a series of important services. By the judicious arrangement of his ships, and the co-operation of lord Nelson, he succeeded in capturing

two large French ships proceeding to La Valetta, with troops and stores. He blockaded the ports of Toulon, Marseilles, Nice, and the coast of the Riviera; and, co-operating with the Austrians, who were besieging Genoa, he so effectually cut off all supplies from the French garrison in that place by the activity of his blockade, that they were compelled to surrender. In the following September, the island of Malta was captured by a detachment of his fleet. The British cabinet having determined to make a descent on Spain, lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercromby entered the bay of Cadiz with a large fleet, having on board about eighteen thousand troops. Circumstances, however, occurred, which the admiral and general conceived warranted them in not attempting the proposed landing, and they accordingly withdrew without making any descent.

The greatest and most brilliant of all lord Keith's services, however, was yet to be performed; this was the celebrated landing of Aboukir, one of the most splendid affairs in the annals of war; and it was in a great measure owing to the promptitude and skill of the admiral alone, that this critical and perilous enterprise was so triumphantly accomplished. For this important service lord Keith received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and on the 5th December, 1801, he was created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Keith of Barheath, county of Dumbarton. He had been previously advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue. In the fulness of the country's gratitude for his services, he was also presented by the corporation of London with the freedom of the city in a gold box, together with a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, and was invested by the Grand Signor with the order of the Crescent, which he had established to perpetuate the memory of the services rendered to the Ottoman empire by the British.

In 1803, lord Keith was appointed commander-in-chief of all his majesty's ships in the north sea. In 1805, he was further advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, and in 1812, succeeded Sir Charles Cotton as commander-in-chief of the channel fleet. While on this station, it was his lot to be the means of capturing the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, on his flight from France after the battle of Waterloo. The disposition which lord Keith made of his ships on this occasion was such, that the distinguished fugitive, after being taken by captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, acknowledged escape to have been impossible. His treatment of the prisoner was as noble, delicate, and humane, as his arrangements for seizing him had been dexterous. He acted throughout the whole affair with so much good sense and right feeling, that he at once gained the esteem and gratitude of Napoleon, and the approbation of the government which he represented.

In 1814, lord Keith had been created a viscount; and, at the conclusion of the war, by the disposal of Napoleon in St Helena, he retired to enjoy his well-earned honours in the bosom of his family, and the society of his former friends. Latterly he resided constantly on his estate of Tulliallan, where he erected a mansion-house suited to his rank and fortune. There he also expended large sums in works of permanent utility, and united with constant acts of voluntary bounty the encouragement of industrious pursuit and useful occupation, those sure sources of comfort to a surrounding population. The strength of his natural understanding enabled him to derive the utmost benefit from all that he had occasion to see or to contemplate. A most tenacious memory and great readiness enabled him to bring all his information effectually into action when the occasion called for it. Such powers, united to a fertility of mind which is rarely excelled, rendered him a most distinguished character in all that regarded his profession. In social intercourse, his kindly nature was constantly predominant: he was entirely free of affectation in conversation, and he dealt out the

facts and anecdotes with which his memory was stored, in a most interesting and amusing manner. Lord Keith was invariably influenced by the kindest feelings for all who were connected with him, and, without solicitation on their part, he was uniformly alive to whatever could promote their interest. But this did not limit the extent of his usefulness to others; on the contrary, being always open to approach, he was zealous in forwarding, to the utmost of his power, the objects of deserving men. Accordingly, it may be safely said of him, that he could reckon as great a number of meritorious officers, of all ranks and descriptions, who had been placed in their proper stations by his efforts, as any man of his rank who served during the same distinguished period of our naval history.

His first lady having died in 1789, lord Keith married, in January, 1808, the eldest daughter of Henry Thrale, Esq. M.P. for Southwark; of which union the issue was one child, a daughter. In 1822, lord Keith was permitted by the king to accept the last additional honour he was to receive on earth, in the shape of a grand cross of the royal Sardinian order of St Maurice and St Lazare. He died at Tulliallan house, on the 10th of March, 1823, in the 78th year of his age.

KEITH, GEORGE, fifth earl Marischal, founder of the Marischal college of Aberdeen. The period of this nobleman's birth is unknown; his father was William lord Keith, (eldest son of the fourth earl Marischal,) a person known in history as having been taken prisoner into England in 1558, and released for a ransom of £2000. This individual married Elizabeth Hay, daughter to the earl of Errol, by whom, at his death in 1580, he left, besides the subject of our memoir, three sons and four daughters.¹ George succeeded his grandfather in the year 1581, and we find him towards the end of the year following, doing his duty in parliament.² We are led to understand, that, previously to his succeeding to the title, he had spent some time among the seats of learning on the continent. As with all men who have been remarkable in advanced life, it was recollected of him after his death, that in youth he showed an extreme desire for knowledge, and a facility in its acquisition. We are informed that he studied at the King's college of Aberdeen,³ and that at the age of eighteen he was an adept in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and in the studies of antiquities, history, and literature; when, discontented with the scope allowed in his own country, he resolved to study in France.⁴ On this journey, it is said that he was courteously received by the Landgrave of Hesse, (the chief among the descendants of that celebrated tribe of "Catti," from which the fabulous historians have traced the family of Keith,) along with the other noble youths of the age. While he was accumulating knowledge, he did not forget the opportunities afforded him in France, of perfecting himself in the knowledge of arms, and the feats of athletic jugglery then in vogue. After some time, Keith left France, preferring a residence in Geneva, with the illustrious Theodore Beza, by whom he was instructed in divinity, history, and the art of speaking. During his residence there, an accident of a melancholy nature happened. His younger brother, William, who had accompanied him on his journey, and had apparently, with high promise of future eminence, shared in his studies, was killed in a tumult, during an excursion into the country. His eminent master,

¹ Douglas' Peccage, 193.

² Act. Parl., iii. 326.

³ Middleton's account of the King's college of Aberdeen and of the great men there, MS. Bib. Ad. M. 6, 15.

⁴ *Oratio Funeris*, in obitum maximi virorum Georgii Marischalli comitis, D. Keith et Altre, &c., *Academix Marischallanx Aberdonix fundatoris, et Mccenatis munificentissimi; scripta et pronunciata a Gulielmo Ogstono, philosophix moralis ibidem professore. Abv. Itaban*, 1623, 4to, p. 11.

along with Gaulter and Andrew Melville, have celebrated the memory and talents of this young man. Beza, in the dedication of his "*Icones virorum doctrina et pietate illustrium*," to king James, mentions, with much satisfaction, the circumstance of having been intrusted with the education of pupils so illustrious. After the death of his brother, Keith left Geneva, and visited the courts of Europe, where his rank and great wealth admitted his making a considerable figure. It is said that, even in this employment, presumed to be full of gayety, he was a grave and accurate student: that he indulged in the splendour of courts more for the purpose of acquiring historical knowledge, than of pursuing pleasure, and that he travelled less for the purpose of recreation and variety, than for the acquisition of correct knowledge of the various countries of the world, having seldom seen a country of which he did not show his acquaintance, by embodying his knowledge in a map.⁵ He returned to his native country, after an absence of seven years. The Scottish peer who in the sixteenth century founded a university, and encouraged learning, must have been a man whose penetration and grasp of mind were very different from those of his colleagues in rank, yet he appears not to have been totally exempt from the barbarous habits and feelings of the day.

On the 8th of June, 1585, we find him obtaining a remission under the great seal, for "art and part" of the slaughter of his relative William Keith, apparent of Luduquhairn;⁶ and in 1595, he is charged to appear before the king and council, as a person entertaining a deadly feud with the laird of Meldrum.⁷ Soon after his accession to the earldom, the celebrated raid of Ruthven took place, a political movement, as to which it is difficult to discover his view, but with which his connexion seems to have somewhat displeased the king. He was, apparently, not present at the "raid," nor does he appear to have approached so hot a political atmosphere, until the king's escape from Falkland to St Andrews, whither he repaired, apparently as a neutral person; but he is represented as having retired to his own home in disgust, on the king changing the lenient measure he had at first proposed towards the rebels.⁸ The earl was a member of that parliament which, on the 19th of October, 1582, approved the acts of the conspirators, holding their proceedings as legal, and protecting their persons from punishment, by an act which was afterwards expunged from the statute book.⁹ It is not without surprise, that, after such a measure, we find him acting as chancellor of the assize of peers, which, with considerable partiality in its proceedings, found the earl of Gowrie guilty of treason, on account of his share in the raid of Ruthven.¹⁰ It can scarcely be doubted, that in these proceedings he was guilty of inconsistency: it is not likely that any one attended a parliament held under the auspices of the conspirators, for the purpose of voting against them, and it was not customary for the crown to choose assizers who would acquit, while his having acted as chancellor leaves no doubt that he voted for a verdict of guilty! Charity can only palliate this tergiversation, on the circumstance, that Gowrie had, in the interval between these events, been guilty of additional acts of disobedience.

After the singular proceedings on the part of James towards the court of Denmark, in attempting a negotiation of marriage with the eldest daughter of Frederick the II., which terminated in that monarch (not presuming the king of Scotland to be serious in his proposals) marrying his daughter to the duke of Brunswick; the lover, disappointed of one daughter, was resolved to try more consistent plans for obtaining the other, and James proposed to send lord Altry,

⁵ Oratio Funeris ut sup.

⁶ Douglas' Peerage, i. 193.

⁷ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, i. 353.

⁸ Melville's Memoirs, 270-74.

⁹ Act. Parl., iii. 326.

¹⁰ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, i. 116.

uncle to the earl Marischal, to Denmark, to make serious proposals to Frederick's second daughter, Anne. The disposition of the council of Scotland, was such as prompted Altry, an old and infirm statesman, averso to engaging in the excitement of politics, to decline the high office, and his nephew, the earl Marischal, showed a desire to officiate in his stead. "Now the earl Marischal," says Sir James Melville in his cautious manner, "was desirous to supply the place of his uncle, my lord of Altry: and his majesty was content that he should be sent thither. Whereupon I took occasion to represent to his majesty, that the said earl was very well qualified for that employment, and that he would go the better contented, if he might have in commission with him some of his own friends and acquaintance. His majesty answered, that it was his part to choose his own ambassadors; that the earl Marischal should have the first place as a nobleman, but," continues Sir James with his usual complacency, "that he would repose the chief handling with the regent and council of Denmark upon me."¹¹ It is probable that the great wealth of the earl, who was then the richest nobleman in Scotland, was a cogent reason for appointing him to superintend an expensive expedition. It was the policy of queen Elizabeth to object to the proposed alliance, and the privy council of Scotland showed a disposition to accede to her wishes. In the mean time, the tradesmen of Edinburgh, instigated, it is said, by the secret interference of James, took the matter into their hands, threatening the privy council, and denouncing vengeance against Thirstane, the chancellor, whom they looked upon as the chief agent of Elizabeth. James had made his resolution, and the earl was finally despatched to Denmark, along with the constable of Dundee, and lord Andrew Keith, whom he had requested permission to take as an associate. Owing to the vacillating policy of James, "his power to conclude was so limited, and his commission so slender, that he was compelled to send back again my lord Dingwall, either for a license to come home, or for a sufficient power to conclude."¹² Dingwall found the king at Aberdeen, who, as the chancellor and most part of the council were absent, found himself in a situation to give more ample powers. The storm which interrupted the voyage of the princess is well known, as an amusing portion of Scottish history; in the mean time, the chancellor, who was the deadly enemy of the earl Marischal, had, from his opposition to the measure, sunk in the favour of James, and did not recover his former estimation, without suffering the expense of procuring the handsome fast-sailing vessel, in which the monarch made that voyage to Denmark which has been considered so unaccountably inconsistent with his general character. We shall give, in the words of Sir James Melville, an account of the very characteristic squabbles which took place between the two rival peers at the court of Copenhagen. "The company who were with his majesty put him to great trouble to agree their continual janglings, strife, pride, and partialities. The earl Marischal, by reason that he was an ancient earl, and had been first employed in this honourable commission, thought to have the first place next unto his majesty so long as he was there. The chancellor, by reason of his office, would needs have the pre-eminence. There were also contentions between him and the justice-clerk. The constable of Dundee and my lord Dingwall could not agree about place. George Hume did quietly shoot out William Keith from his office of master of the wardrobe. At length they were all divided into two factions; the one for the earl Marischal; the other for the chancellor who was the stronger, because the king took his part; so that the chancellor triumphed."¹³ The munificence and great wealth of the earl, prompted him to bear, in the first instance, the expense of the mission; he could not have done a service more acceptable to his sovereign,

¹¹ Melville's Memoirs, 357.¹² Ibid, 358.¹³ Ibid, 363.

and it appears to have finally reinstated him in favour. In 1592, the earl received a parliamentary ratification of his acts as concerned the mission, and was at the same time empowered to recover, from a forfeited estate, the expense he had incurred, stated as amounting to 3156 merks.¹⁴ Up to the commencement of the eighteenth century, the debt was, however, unrecovered,¹⁵ and it is not probable that after that period it was ever paid.

In 1583, the earl was one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the "new erection" or alteration in management of the King's college of Aberdeen; and it is probable that the duties in which he was then engaged, prompted him, ten years afterwards, to perform that act of enlightened munificence, which has perpetuated his name as the founder of Marischal college. The charter of the university was granted by the earl on the 2nd April, 1593; it was approved of by the General Assembly of Dundee on the 24th of the same month, after having been submitted to the examination of a committee, and was ratified by Parliament on the 21st of July following. The college was endowed to maintain a principal, three regent professors, and six bursars. By the foundation, the languages and sciences appointed to be taught, were, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, natural history, geometry, geography, chronology, and astronomy. In opposition to the principle previously pursued, by which each professor conducted a class of students through all the branches of knowledge taught in any university, the subjects taught in Marischal college were divided among separate masters, each of whom adhered to his peculiar branch—an excellent regulation, afterwards departed from, but resumed in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Without descending to the particular benefits of this institution, the circumstance that many eminent names are connected with Marischal college, and that its small endowments have cultivated intellects which might have long lain unproductive, are sufficient of themselves to speak to the honour of its noble founder. The building erected for the accommodation of the students was not splendid, nor were the endowments great, when compared with those of universities abroad, or even of the other similar institutions of Scotland. The former, however, is still a protecting roof, and the latter have been creditably increased, especially in the bursaries, which amount to about twenty, of various values, from £3 to £15 annually—the smallest paying the full fee of the possessor for the four years during which he remains at the university, and the larger frequently forming for a time the chief support of one or two individuals who would otherwise remain uneducated; they are carefully protected as the rewards of talent and labour, and held by those who gain them as their right, independently of the authority of the officials of the university. The progress of Marischal college, in comparison with that of other universities, stands as an example, that in a civilized age, not superstitiously ruled by the church, a university without complete internal support, cannot succeed or become useful, except in a large and flourishing town. The prison-like dens of Marischal college, with their unplastered walls are annually filled with students, while the princely halls of St Andrews are empty and falling to ruin; and the university of Fraserburgh, which was in a flourishing state in the sixteenth century, has disappeared and been forgotten.

Within the same year, when Marischal college was founded, we find its patron

¹⁴ Act. Parl, iii. 541.

¹⁵ A short relation of the origin of the Keiths in Scotland, with a list of the predecessors of the present earl Marischal of that kindome, being an abstract of the history of that noble family, anno Domini, 1690. Aberdeen, x die Aprilis, An. Dom. 1700.

¹⁶ For a farther account of this matter, vide the memoir of Alexander Gerard in this collection.

engaged in other works of public utility. He granted a charter to Peterhead. And by the act 1593, c. 48, we find him empowered to exact a toll of twenty pence for every last of goods entering or leaving a harbour he had attached to that town.¹⁷ At the same period, the secret transactions with the court of Spain, of which some of the northern peers were suspected, and the discovery of those mysterious documents known by the name of "the Spanish blanks," created alarm in the nation, and consternation at court; and by the same act of 1593, the earl Marischal, as a trusty statesman, was empowered to act the part of king's commissioner in the shires of Kincardine, Aberdeen, and Banff, and to inquire into the conduct of the earls of Errol, Huntly, Angus, and others.¹⁸ A trust of still higher order was reposed in the earl, in June 6th, 1609, when, by commission under the great seal, he was appointed lord high commissioner to the parliament of Scotland.

In the year 1622, in the old age of a well-spent life, the earl felt his last illness come upon him, and he retired to his fortress of Dunnottar, where he is said to have borne his sickness with patience and religious resignation. Dr Dun, one of the professors of his college, attended him as physician, and the disease for a time yielded to medicine, but finally relapsed.¹⁹ The latter days of this great and useful man do not appear to have been permitted to pass in domestic peace, and his death-bed was disturbed by the desertion and crime of an unfeeling wife. The circumstance to which we refer is one of a very singular nature; and as it is impossible at this period to trace all the motives from which it originated, we shall state it, almost verbatim, as it occurs in the criminal record, avoiding antiquated orthography. "On the 3rd of March, 1624, Dame Margaret Ogilvie, countess dowager of Marischal, along with her then husband, Sir Alexander Strauchane of Thornetoun, knight, and Robert Strauchan, doctor in physic, were accused before the high court of justiciary, of the ignoble crimes of masterful theft and stouthrief, in having stolen from the place of Benholm, belonging to the earl, certain jewels, silver plate, household stuff, gold, silver, and title deeds, in October, 1622, a little before the said earl's decease." On the same day, James Keith of Benholme was cited to answer for a similar crime, committed at the same time, and in the same place. The two cases are evidently connected together, and the minute in the latter provides us with the following inventory of articles stolen, which is an evidence of the magnificence and wealth of the earl, and an extraordinary feature in the transaction. Of Portugal ducats, and other species of foreign gold, to the avail of 26,000 pounds or thereby; thirty-six dozen gold buttons; a rich jewel set with diamonds, which the deceased earl received as a gift when he was ambassador in Denmark, worth 6,000 merks; the queen of Denmark's picture in gold, set about with rich diamonds, estimated at 5,000 merks; a jasper stone for stemming of blood, estimated at 500 French crowns; a chain of "equall perle," wherein were 400 pearls great and small; two chains of gold, of twenty-four ounce weight; another jewel of diamonds set in gold, worth 3,000 merks; a great pair of bracelets, all set with diamonds, price thereof 500 crowns; the other pair of gold bracelets at 600 pounds the pair; a turquois ring worth ten French crowns; a diamond set in a ring, worth twenty-eight French crowns, with a number of other small rings set with diamonds and other rich stones in gold, worth 300 French crowns; also 16,000 merks of silver and gold ready coined, which was within a green coffer; together with the whole tapestry, silver-work, bedding, goods, gear, and plenishing within the said place. The case, as regarded the countess, and Sir Alexander and Dr Strauchane, was postponed by a royal war-

¹⁷ Act Par., iv. 35.

¹⁸ Act. Parl., iv. 44. Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, i. 283.

¹⁹ Oratio Funebris ut sup.

rant to the 2nd of July, from thence to the 27th of July, and from thence to the 8th of December, of which date no entry appearing, the lord advocate seems to have been prevailed with to give up the pursuit; Keith of Benholme, who seems to have occupied, or been steward of, the house so strangely dilapidated, was outlawed for not appearing.²⁰

The earl died at five o'clock on the morning of the fifth day of April, 1623, and a monument with a poetical inscription was erected to his memory. The funeral oration so frequently referred to, was read at Marischal college on the 30th June, 1623, by Ogston, the professor of moral philosophy; it compares his death to an earthquake, and sundry other prodigies of nature—heaps too great a load of virtues on his shoulders for mankind to bear with comfort, and in detailing the perfections of the dead Mæcenas, the author does not neglect those of the living Solomon. A book of “Tears” was also published to his memory, chiefly composed by Massy and Alexander Wedderburn.²¹ The lady already so equivocally mentioned was his second wife, a daughter of James, sixth lord Ogilvie: he had previously married Margaret, daughter of Alexander, fifth lord Hume,²² and by both he had several children.

KEITH, (the Honourable) JAMES, commonly called marshal Keith, the younger son of William, ninth earl Marischal, and lady Mary Drummond, daughter to the earl of Perth, was born in the year 1696. His aptness for learning seems to have been very considerable, since he acquired in after-life a reputation for letters scarcely inferior to his military renown; a circumstance which was possibly in no small degree owing to his having had the good fortune to receive the rudiments of his education from the celebrated bishop Keith, who was allied to his family by consanguinity, and who officiated as tutor to himself and his elder brother, the tenth earl Marischal.

Mr Keith was originally designed for the law, and with the view of making it his profession, he was sent to Edinburgh to complete his studies. It was soon discovered, however, that he entertained a much stronger predilection for the camp than the bar;—he seems indeed to have been very early attached to the military profession. His language, when the subject happened at any time to be alluded to, was always full of martial enthusiasm, even while yet a mere stripling. “I have begun to study the law,” he said, “in compliance with the desires of the countess of Marischal, (his mother,) but commend me, gentlemen, to stand before the mouth of a cannon for a few minutes; this either makes a man in an instant, or he dies gloriously in the field of battle.” Such was the spirit in which the young soldier entered on his career of fame.

The earl Marischal, elder brother of the subject of this memoir, was one of those Tory noblemen who signed the proclamation of George I. The party being disappointed in their hopes of office under the new dynasty, he returned in a state of high irritation to Scotland, and at York met his brother James, who was on his way to London for the purpose of asking a commission in the army. The two young men returned home together, burning with resentment, and on the commencement of the insurrection of 1715, they were incited at once by their own feelings, and by the advice of their mother, who was a catholic, to declare for the Pretender. The meeting held by the earl of Mar, (who was their cousin,) under the semblance of a hunting match, was attended by the two brothers, and they continued, throughout the remainder of the campaign,

²⁰ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, iii. 562.

²¹ “*Lachrimæ Academicæ Marischallanæ sub obitum Mæcenatis et Fundatoris sui, munificentissimi, nobilissimi et illustrissimi, Georgii Comitis Marischalli, Domini de Keith et Altre, &c.*”—*Aberd. Roban*, 1623.

²² Douglas' *Peerage*.

to act a bold and conspicuous part under that unfortunate leader. The immediate subject of this memoir is said to have manifested a degree of resolution and conduct which attracted much attention, and inspired hopes of his future fortune. On the final dispersion of the rebel army at Ruthven in Badenoch, they had no resource but to make the best of their way to a foreign land, where they might be safe from the consequences of their enterprise. They proceeded, in company with many other Lowland gentlemen, to the Western Isles, where they designed to wait till a vessel could be procured to convey them to France. While in the isles, where they were detained nearly a month, the fugitives were frequently alarmed by reports of their retreat having been discovered, and that an armament had been despatched in quest of them; and on one occasion they were informed that three frigates, with two battalions of foot on board, were within ten miles of them. They, however, were not molested. On the 20th of April, a ship which had been despatched from France for the purpose, arrived at the island on which they were concealed. Losing no time, they, along with about a hundred companions in misfortune, embarked on board of this vessel, and arrived in safety at St Paul de Leon in Brittany, on the 12th of May, 1716. On their arrival at this port, the greater part of them proceeded immediately to wait upon the Pretender, who was then at Avignon; the others, amongst whom was Keith, went straight to Paris, where the latter had at that time several relations residing. On reaching Paris, Keith waited upon the queen-mother, by whom he was most graciously received, and who, amongst other flattering things, said, that she had heard of his good services in her son's cause, and that neither of them should ever forget it. Keith now proposed to the queen-mother to visit the king, by which he meant the Pretender, and asked her permission to do so. She, however, dissuaded him from taking this step, saying that he was yet but young, and had better remain in Paris and recommence his studies, and concluded by proposing to bear the charge of his future education. Notwithstanding this flattering reception, a whole month elapsed before Keith heard any thing further from the queen-mother, and, in the mean time, he was reduced to great straits for want of money, living principally by selling horse furniture, which military officers were at this period in the habit of carrying about with them, and which, being sometimes richly ornamented with silver, was a very valuable article. There were many friends of himself and his family in Paris, who would readily have afforded him any pecuniary assistance he might have required, but, as he himself says, in a MS. memoir of his life, written with his own hand, to which we have access, "I was then either so bashful or so vain, that I would not own the want I was in." His wants, however, of this kind were soon amply provided for, and from various unlooked for sources. The queen-mother at length sent him 1000 livres, and much about the same time a Parisian banker waited upon him, and informed him that he had instructions from Scotland to supply him with money, and an order from king James to pay him 200 crowns a-year, with an apology for the smallness of the sum, as it was all that his (the king's) circumstances enabled him to do. Relieved now from his pecuniary difficulties, he betook himself to study, to which he devoted the whole of the remaining part of the year 1716, and a great part of the following year. Previous to this, and while pursuing his studies, he received a commission as colonel of horse in the service of the king of Sweden, who entertained a design of making a descent on Scotland in favour of king James. The project, however, was discovered long before it could be carried into execution, and thus both the intended invasion and Keith's commission fell to the ground. Another opportunity, although equally fruitless in its results, presented itself to the young soldier, now in his twentieth year, of pushing his fortune with his sword. This

was the appearance in Paris of Peter the first, emperor of Russia. Keith made every effort to obtain admission into the service of that potentate, but without effect, he himself supposes on account of his not having employed the proper means. In the following year, 1718, learning that there was an intention on the part of Spain, similar to that which had been entertained by the king of Sweden, viz., to attempt the restoration of king James by invading Scotland—Keith and his brother the earl Marischal set out for Madrid, with the view of offering their services in the proposed expedition. These were readily accepted, and the two brothers, after repeated interviews with cardinal Alberoni, then prime minister of Spain, were furnished with instructions regarding the intended descent, and with means to carry that part of it which was intrusted to them into execution. By previous appointment, Keith and his brother the earl Marischal were met at Havre de Grace, the point at which they had fixed to embark for Scotland, by several of the Scottish leaders in the rising of 1715, who were still lurking about France. All of them having been advised of the undertaking, were furnished with commissions from the king of Spain, to apply equally to the Spanish forces which were to be sent after them, and to those which they should raise in the country.

The co-operation in this enterprise which they were led to expect was the landing in England of the duke of Ormond with an army, which it was proposed should immediately take place. Two frigates, with Spanish troops on board, were also to follow them within a day or two, to land with them in Scotland, and enable them to commence their operations in that kingdom. On the 19th of March, the expatriated chiefs embarked on board a small vessel of about twenty-five tons, and after encountering some stormy weather and running great risk from some English ships of war which they fell in with, they reached the island of Lewis on the 4th of April. They were soon afterwards joined by the two frigates, and a debarkation on the main land was immediately determined upon. In the expectation of being joined by large bodies of Highlanders, they proposed to march forward to Inverness, from which they hoped to drive out the small force by which it was garrisoned.

The whole enterprise, however, hurried on to a disastrous conclusion. The duke of Ormond's fleet was dispersed: the Highlanders refused to embark in the desperate undertaking; a very few only joining the invaders, and these showing little enthusiasm in the cause: and to complete their ruin, they were attacked and defeated by a body of troops which had been despatched to arrest their progress. They were, however, not so completely routed but that they were enabled to retire in partial order to the summit of some high grounds in the vicinity of the scene of action. Here a council of war was held during the night, in which it was resolved that the Spaniards should on the next day surrender themselves prisoners of war, that the Highlanders should disperse, and that the officers should each seek his safety in the best way he could.

Thus Keith found himself placed in exactly the same desperate circumstances in which he was after the rising of 1715,—an outlawed fugitive, without means and without a home. After lurking some months in the Highlands, during the greater part of which, to add to his misfortunes, he was in bad health, he found his way to Peterhead, where he embarked for Holland, whither his brother had gone before him. Being here joined by the latter, they both proceeded to the Hague, and sometime afterwards to Madrid. Here Keith's pecuniary difficulties became as pressing and infinitely more desperate than they were in Paris on his arrival there in 1715. "I was now," he says, "as the French have it, *au piè de la lettre sur le pavé*. I knew nobody and was known to none, and had not my good fortune brought rear-admiral Cammoek to Madrid, whom I had known

formerly in Paris, I don't know what would have become of me; he immediately offered me his house and his table, both which I was glad to accept of." Thus shifting, together with the aid of some arrears of pay which he received from the king of Spain, he remained the greater part of the year 1720, and, with the exception of some short absences, all the year 1721, at Madrid. He then removed to Paris, where he lived for the next three or four years, receiving the pay of a Spanish colonel, but without being attached to any regiment. At the end of this period Keith again returned to Spain, and was employed in active service up to the year 1728. Thinking himself, however, rather overlooked, he in this year addressed a letter to the king, soliciting his patronage, and requesting that he might be appointed to the command of the first Irish regiment which should become vacant. The answer of his majesty to this application was, that so soon as he knew that he was a Roman catholic he should not only have what he asked, but that his future fortunes should be cared for. Finding all hopes of promotion in the Spanish service thus cut off on account of his religious belief, Keith solicited a recommendation from his Spanish majesty to the court of Russia, where he now determined to try his fortunes. The recommendation which he sought was at once granted, and forwarded to the emperor of Russia, who soon after intimated to him his admission into his service as a major-general. On Keith's leaving Madrid for Moscow, the king of Spain presented him with a *douceur* of 1000 crowns, and soon after his arrival in Russia he was promoted to the command of a regiment of guards, an appointment of great trust, and which had hitherto been bestowed on none but especial favourites of the sovereign. He was further named one of three inspectors of army details, and awarded as his department the frontier of Asia, with the country on both sides of the Volga and Don, together with part of the frontier of Poland. About this time one of his early instructors, a Mr Morton, hearing of his good fortune, wrote to him a letter of congratulation on his prosperity. The general's reply partook of his nature; it was kind and unaffected. "I am a true Scotsman indeed," he said amongst other obliging things, "wise behind the hand; for had I been more careful to imbibe the excellent instructions I received under your inspection, I had still made a better figure in the world." Hitherto the general, though he had proven himself at once a zealous and an able officer in the discharge of his military duties, had had no opportunity of exhibiting his talents for active warfare. Such an opportunity, however, at length offered. On the death of the king of Poland, that unhappy kingdom was entered by a Russian army to overawe, or rather control the election of a new king. On this occasion the general was despatched into Poland with six battalions of foot, 600 dragoons, and 4000 Cossacks. While on this service he was ordered by the commander-in-chief, prince Schahofskoi, to ravage the country. With a feeling of humanity and in a spirit of honour which reflects much credit on his character, both as a soldier and a man, he endeavoured to evade the painful, and as he felt it, dishonourable duty. Finding that no dictates of humanity would weigh with the commander-in-chief, he tried the effects of interested considerations; representing to him, that if the system of devastation was continued, not only would the inhabitants, but the Russian army also be reduced to a state of absolute starvation. This had the desired effect. The general was immediately ordered to desist from further spoliation. During the whole of this war the general conducted himself with a degree of judgment and gallantry, and in short, discovered throughout such a possession of the best and most valuable qualities of the soldier, as now ranked him indisputably amongst the first captains of the age. He was severely wounded in the knee in this service at Ocrakow. The injury was of so serious a nature that the Russian

surgeons recommended that the wounded limb should be amputated, and the general at once gave his consent to the operation being performed. But his brother, who had gone to visit him on this occasion, would not listen to the proposal. "I hope," he said, "James has yet more to do with that leg, and I will not part with it so easily, at least not until I have the best advice in Europe." In the spirit of brotherly affection which these expressions bespeak, he immediately removed the general to Paris, to procure the advice of the surgical skill of that city, and the result was highly favourable. The French surgeons, doing what those of Russia had neglected, laid open the general's knee, and extracted some pieces of cloth which had been driven into the wound by the shot, and had all along prevented that cure which was now soon effected.

The military fame of general Keith was now spread over all Europe, and had attracted in a particular manner the notice of the warlike Frederick of Prussia, who lost no time in inviting him into his service, offering him the rank of a field marshal and the governorship of Berlin, with ample means to support the dignity of these situations. These offers were too tempting to be refused. The general accepted them, and immediately proceeded to the Prussian court. His affable manners and military genius soon won him the personal esteem of his new master, who not only admitted but invited him to the most familiar intercourse, travelled with him throughout his own dominions and those of the neighbouring states, and acknowledged him as an adviser in matters of military business, and as his companion in his hours of relaxation. For some time after his arrival in Prussia the marshal enjoyed a respite from military service, Frederick happening then to be, we cannot say at peace, but not at actual war with any of the European powers. This leisure he devoted to literary pursuits, entering into and maintaining a correspondence with some of the most eminent politicians and philosophers of the day, all of whom bear testimony to the great talent and ability with which he discussed the various subjects on which he wrote, and not the smallest portion of their praise was bestowed upon the elegance and felicity of language which his correspondence exhibited.

Frederick's, however, was not a service in which much repose of this kind could be expected. He, of whom it is said, that he looked upon peace only as a preparation for war, was not likely either to remain long idle himself, or to permit such a man as marshal Keith to be so.

The outrageous conduct of Frederick in repeated instances had long given great umbrage to many of the European powers, but none of them had dared to come to open hostilities with him. At length, however, they fell upon the plan of combining their efforts for the chastisement of the warlike monarch, whom none of them would venture to face singly.

Austria, Russia, Germany, and France, all took the field against the Prussian monarch. During the vicissitudes and operations which ensued, in attacking at one time and resisting at another, the various efforts of his numerous enemies, Frederick intrusted the most important, next to those which he himself assumed, to marshal Keith, whose military talents and sound judgment he found during the arduous struggle which followed, had not been over-rated. When summoned by the prince of Saxe-Hildburg to surrender Leipsic, which Frederick had left him to defend with 8000 men, the gallant soldier, then upwards of 60 years of age, replied to the messenger, "Let your master know that I am by birth a Scotsman, by inclination as well as duty, a Prussian, and shall defend the town in such a manner that neither the country which gave me birth nor that which has adopted me shall be ashamed of me. The king my master has ordered me to defend it to the last extremity, and he shall be obeyed." Early on the

following morning, the marshal summoned the magistrates of the town together, told them of the communication which he had from the enemy, and advised them to wait upon the prince, and beg of him, for their own sakes and that of the inhabitants in general, to refrain from proceeding to extremities against the city; "for," said he, with a tact which showed the consummate soldier, "if he proceeds in this resolution, I will myself begin to set fire to the suburbs, and if that be not sufficient to oblige the enemy to desist from his enterprise, I will go further, and not spare even the city itself;" and with many expressions of reluctance to have recourse to such dreadful measures, to which he said necessity alone could compel him, he dismissed the terrified citizens, who instantly despatched a deputation to wait upon the prince. All, however, they could obtain from the latter was a modification of the terms of the original summons. Another was sent, in which the Prussians were offered the liberty of marching out of the town without molestation. This summons marshal Keith rejected with the same determination as the former, to the great provocation of the prince, who, in his resentment at the tone of defiance assumed by the Prussian commander, declared that if the latter carried his threat into execution regarding the burning of the town, he would lay Berlin or Potsdam in ashes. The extremities which were thus threatened on both sides were, however, prevented by the approach of the Prussian monarch, who arrived in the neighbourhood of Leipsic with a large force, and averted the destruction of the city by bringing on the celebrated battle of Rosbach, in which he was completely victorious. Soon after this, marshal Keith marched into Bohemia with an army, and laid that kingdom under contribution, having previously dislodged the Austrians from the mountains of Saxony, where they had been strongly posted. The brilliant career, however, of this soldier of fortune was now about to close for ever; the death which became him awaited him, and was close at hand.

Frederick had taken up a position in the village of Hochkirchen, which he was particularly desirous of retaining, and which the enemy were equally desirous of possessing. The consequence was, that this point was attacked during the night following its first occupation. On the first alarm of the enemy's motions, marshal Keith mounted his horse, and hastily collecting what troops were in his immediate neighbourhood, marched towards the village. On arriving there he found it already in the hands of the enemy. Charging, however, at the head of his troops, he drove them from the position. Fresh bodies of the enemy came up, and the marshal was in turn forced to retire. Again he returned to the combat, leading on his men, and cheering them as he advanced; and again he cleared the village of the enemy. Determined on possession of the position, the latter once more returned with increased numbers, until latterly the whole flower of the Austrian army were concentrated on this sanguinary spot, defended by a handful of Prussians. At eight o'clock in the morning, and while the combat was yet at the hottest, although it had now lasted several hours, the marshal received a severe and dangerous wound. He refused, however, to quit the field, but continued to conduct the desperate encounter with unabated enthusiasm and gallantry. At nine o'clock, an hour after he had received his first wound, a second shot passed through his breast, and instantly stretched him lifeless on the ground. His body was stripped by the Austrians, who had now driven the Prussians from the field, and was thus left exposed until it was recognized by count Lasci, who had been one of his pupils in the art of war. That nobleman immediately gave orders for its interment; but this having been done with little reverence, it was shortly afterwards taken up by the curate of Hochkirchen, and again committed to the earth, with every mark of decency and respect. The remains of the marshal were, by the special orders of the

king, finally removed to Berlin, and buried there with all the honours which a nation and a great monarch could pay to splendid talent and great moral worth.

If any thing were wanting to complete the illustrious character of this great man, it is to be found in the circumstance of his death having been nearly as much lamented by the Austrians, then the enemies of Prussia, as by the Prussians themselves. His humanity was ever on the alert to protect even those against whom he fought from any unnecessary violence, and the Austrians had, in a thousand instances, been indebted to this ennobling trait in a character admirably calculated in all its parts to gain the esteem and admiration of mankind. Marshal Keith died in the sixty-third year of his age. He was never married, but to whatever chance this was owing, it does not appear to have proceeded from any want of susceptibility, for, while in Paris in 1718, on being first urged by some of his friends to offer his services to the court of Spain, which he was then informed meditated some designs on Sicily, he says, "But I was then too much in love to think of quitting Paris, and, although my friends forced me to take some steps towards it, yet I managed it so slowly, that I set out only in the end of that year; and had not my mistress and I quarreled, and that other affairs came to concern me more than the conquest of Sicily did, it's probable I had lost many years of my time to very little purpose—so much was I taken up with my passion." Of the final result of this attachment we are not informed; but it does not appear that he ever formed another.

Some years after his death, a monument was erected in the church-yard of Hochkirchen to the memory of the marshal, by his relative Sir Robert Murray Keith. It bore the following inscription, composed by the celebrated Metastasio :

Jacobo Keith,
Gulielmi Comitæ Marescelli Hered.
Regni Scotiæ,
Et Mariæ Drummond, Filio,
Frederici Borussorum Regis
Summo Exercitus Præfeco;
Viro
Antiquis Moribus et Militari Virtute claro.
Qui,
Dum in prælio non procul hinc,
Inclinatam suorum aciem
Mente, Manu, Voce, et Exemplo
Restituebat,
Pugnans ut Heroas decet,
Occubuit,
Anno 1758, Mense Oct.

The earl Marischal, elder brother of marshal Keith, also deserves some notice in the present work, as an enlightened and distinguished man. Attainted for his share in the insurrection of 1715, his fate continued for some time identified with that of his younger brother; till, in 1750, he was appointed by Frederick II. of Prussia as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. He afterwards served the same sovereign as ambassador to the court of Spain, and in this capacity had an opportunity of reconciling himself to his native court. Having discovered the secret of the family compact, by which the different princes of the house of Bourbon had bound themselves to assist each other, he communicated that important intelligence through Mr Pitt, to the British government, to whom it was of the highest importance. The consequence was

a pardon extended by the king to earl Marischal, and an act of parliament to enable him to inherit property in Great Britain.

After this happy event, he proceeded to London, and was introduced to the king (George II.) who received him very graciously. It afterwards was discovered that, by this movement, he escaped a very considerable danger, for within thirty-six hours of his departure from Madrid, notice was received by that court of the communication he had made. The reconciliation of the earl to the house of Brunswick appears to have given great offence to the relics of the Jacobite party, who, it is needless to mention, still retained all their pristine antipathy to that family. Among the papers of bishop Forbes of Leith, is an anecdote to the following effect: "It had been a constant practice in the parish of Langside in Aberdeenshire, to have bonfires, and even to ring the parish bell, on the 2nd of April, O.S., the birth-day of earl Marischal. On Thursday, the 12th February, being a general fast throughout Scotland, when the bellman was ringing the first bell, the news came to Langside, containing the accounts of the earl Marischal having taken the oaths at London; and at that very instant, the said bell rent from the top downwards, and then across near the mouth, and that soon after the bell had begun to ring.

"A gentleman," continues this curious memorial, "walking in his garden, about a quarter of a mile from the church of Langside, asked a man passing by, what the matter was with the bell, in stopping so suddenly. The answer being that she was rent, 'Well,' said the gentleman, 'do you know what the bell says by that?—even, the deil a cheep mair sall I speak for you, earl Marischal!'"¹

The earl resided in Britain for several years, purchased back some of his family property, and intended finally to settle for the remainder of his life in Scotland. The king of Prussia, however, pressed him so warmly to return to his dominions—saying, in one of his letters, "if I had a fleet, I would come and carry you off by force,"—that he once more became an exile from his native land. He spent the rest of his life in Prussia, in the most intimate terms of friendship with its extraordinary monarch, and the enjoyment of every pleasure that a cultivated mind and a virtuous course of life can secure for mortals. Frederick had discovered that the earl was sincerely attached to his person, and he therefore bestowed upon him in return more of his own friendship than was ever experienced by any other individual. The earl was also the friend and correspondent of Hume, and other literary men of his own country, besides the European literati in general. He died at Potsdam, May 28, 1778, in the 86th year of his age,—two days before Voltaire, who had nearly attained the same age, expired at Paris. An "Eloge de My-lord Marischal," by the celebrated D'Alembert, was published at Berlin in 1779.

KEITH, ROBERT, commonly called bishop Keith, an eminent scholar and antiquary, was born at Uras in Kincardineshire, February 7, 1681. He was named Robert after the viscount of Arbuthnot, who had been suckled by his mother. His father, Alexander Keith, having died while he was only two years of age, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, a most exemplary woman, who spared no pains and no expense within the reach of a very limited income, to inculcate those lessons of virtue and religion, and that knowledge of letters which afterwards procured her son so much honourable distinction.

The bishop seems to have entertained, during his whole life, a deep sense of the obligations under which he lay to this amiable parent, and to have taken great pleasure in expressing it. Though in but indifferent circumstances in the

¹ The worthy bishop gives this anecdote as one related at his table by the celebrated Mr John Sklmer, episcopal minister at Langside.

early period of his life, he was yet closely related to one of the most ancient and noble families in the kingdom, being lineally descended from Alexander, the youngest son of William, third earl Marischal.

When he had attained the age of seven years, his mother removed with him to Aberdeen, where he obtained the earlier part of his education. In 1703, he procured the situation of tutor to the young lord Keith and his brother, and in this employment he remained till 1710, when he was admitted to the order of deacons in the Scottish episcopal church, by Haliburton, (titular) bishop of Aberdeen; and in November following became domestic chaplain to Charles, earl of Errol, and his mother, the countess. Two years after, he accompanied his lordship to the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, and had thus an opportunity of visiting some of the most celebrated towns and cities on the continent. Leaving the earl at Aix-la-Chapelle, he returned to England and landed at Dover, where he was compelled to remain for several months, in consequence of a severe illness, brought on by exposure during a violent storm which he had encountered in crossing the channel. On recovering sufficiently to enable him to undergo the fatigue of travelling, he set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived in February, 1713. He was shortly after this invited by a congregation of Scottish episcopalians in that city, to become their minister, and was accordingly raised to the priesthood by bishop Haliburton, on the 26th May, in the year just named. His talents and learning had already attracted some notice, and had procured for him a considerable degree of influence in the church to which he belonged, and of which he was always a steady, zealous, but rational supporter; for, although firmly attached to the faith in which he was educated, he was yet extremely liberal and tolerant in his religious sentiments. In June, 1727, he was raised to the episcopate, and was consecrated in Edinburgh by bishops Miller, Rattray, and Gadderar. He was, at the same time, intrusted with the superintendence of the district of Caithness, Orkney, and the Isles, and in 1733, was preferred to that of Fife.

For upwards of twenty years after this period, bishop Keith continued to exercise his duties in Edinburgh, filling a respectable, if not a dignified place in society, and employing his leisure, it would appear, chiefly in the compilation of those historical works which have transmitted his name to posterity. In a manuscript memoir by Mr Murray of Broughton, secretary to prince Charles Stuart—which the present writer has perused—it is clearly signified that, previous to the insurrection of 1745, the bishop corresponded on subjects relating to his depressed and suffering communion, with the court of the Pretender, and that the latter personage, as the supposed head of a supposed church, gave the *congé d'elire* necessary for the election of individuals to exercise the episcopal office.

The first historical work published by the bishop, appeared in 1734, in a folio form, under the title of a "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation in the reign of James V., to the retreat of queen Mary into England." Though tinged here and there with high-church prejudices, the original narrative is a useful, and, upon the whole, a candid record of a very controverted part of our history; while the state documents quoted in the body of the work and at its close, have proved of incalculable service to every later writer upon the same subject. The list of subscribers prefixed to this work is highly curious, as being an almost complete muster-roll of the Jacobite nobility and gentry of the period: among the rest is the famous Rob Roy. In 1755, the bishop published his well-known "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," which has also been a mine of valuable knowledge to later writers. The latter years of this venerable person appear to have been spent at a villa called Bonnyhaugh, on the banks of the water of Leith, which belonged to

himself. Here he died on the 20th of January, 1757, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the Canongate church-yard, a few feet from the wall on the western side, where a plain tomb-stone, inscribed simply with his name, has recently been erected.

Besides his eminent qualifications as an historian and antiquary, the subject of this notice possessed those of an acute and pains-taking genealogist, a study to which he was probably directed by the high value which he always attached to the dignity of his own descent, and which he was at much pains to establish. An instance of his tenacity in this particular, and of his peculiar talent for genealogical research, was exhibited in a dispute into which he entered with Mr Keith of Ravelstone, on the subject of the comparative proximity of their several families to the house of the earls Marischal.

On that occasion he printed a "Vindication of Mr Robert Keith, and of his young grand-nephew Alexander Keith, from the unfriendly representation of Mr Alexander Keith, jun. of Ravelston." In this vindication he not only succeeded in establishing his superior claims to the particular honour in dispute, but showed that he was also related to the dukes of Douglas and Hamilton. His reason for being at so much pains in vindicating the nobility of his descent, is thus spoken of in the document above alluded to: "For although he himself, (he speaks in the third person,) now in the close of the seventieth year of his age, and having only one daughter, might be pretty indifferent about any thing of this nature, yet he suspects his young grand-nephews, (for there are no less than three of them, Alexander, Robert, and John,) when they came of age, might reproach the memory of their uncle, and justly perhaps, for his not endeavouring to set their birth at right against so flagrant an attack, seeing the one was capable, and the others might not have the same means of knowing, or the same abilities to perform it."

The good bishop seems to have been no hoarder of money, for at his death he left only £450, while his colleague and assistant, died worth £3000.

KENNEDY, JAMES, bishop of St Andrews, was the younger of the two sons of James Kennedy of Dunure, and his wife, the countess of Angus, daughter of Robert III. king of Scotland. He was born about the year 1405 or 1406. The earlier part of his education he received at home, under the eye of his mother, and was afterwards, agreeably to the practice of the times, sent abroad to complete it. Being early destined to the church, the only road to preferment at that period, and the only profession, besides, worthy his dignified descent, he devoted himself to the study particularly of theology and the canon law; but, besides his acquirements in these departments of knowledge, he made a singular proficiency in the languages and other branches of learning, and was altogether looked upon as by far the most accomplished prelate of his day.

On his entering into holy orders, he was preferred (1437) by his uncle James I. to the see of Dunkeld. The good bishop was no sooner installed in his office than he set assiduously to work to reform abuses in the church, and to compel his vicars and parsons to a faithful discharge of their duties. He enjoined them to remain in their parishes, and to instruct their parishioners in the knowledge of religion, to preach to them regularly, and to visit, comfort, and encourage the sick. He himself visited all the churches within his diocese four times every year, preaching in each of them as he went along. On these occasions he never failed to inquire of the people if they were duly instructed by their pastors; if they had no complaints against them; whether their poor were properly cared for; and if their youth were brought up in the fear of God. Such were the pious labours of this excellent man at the outset of his career, and he never deviated from them during the whole of a long and active after-life. Finding

his own authority insufficient to enable him to accomplish all the good which he was desirous of doing, in reforming the abuses which had crept into the church, he went over to Florence to procure additional powers for this purpose from the pope, Eugenius IV. On this occasion his holiness, as a mark of his esteem for the worthy prelate, bestowed upon him the *commendam* of the abbacy of Leone.

On the death of Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, an event which happened on 6th April, 1440, Kennedy was chosen as his successor in that see; and to this new and more important charge, he brought all that activity and anxiety to do good which had distinguished him while he filled the bishopric of Dunkeld. He continued his efforts to reform the manners and practice of the clergy, and in 1446, set out on a second journey to Italy, to consult with and obtain the co-operation of the pope in his work of reformation. On this occasion he was accompanied by a train of thirty persons; for though moderate and temperate in all his pursuits and enjoyments, he was yet of an exceedingly liberal and generous disposition, and a scrupulous maintainer of the dignity of the sacred office which he held, and he had sufficient penetration to discover how much of this, as of all human dignities, depends upon extrinsic aids. His dislike of turbulence and anarchy, and his constant efforts to reconcile differences where they existed, and to discountenance oppression, and to restrain illegal power, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the house of Douglas, which, during the minority of James II., had nearly accomplished the total overthrow of the hereditary royalty of Scotland. In revenge of the part he took in restraining the power of that ambitious family, his lands were plundered by the earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie of Inveraritie, at the instigation of the earl of Douglas, who had farther instructed them to seize, if possible, the person of the bishop, and to put him in irons. This fate he avoided by confining himself to his castle, the only mode of resistance which he thought consistent with his sacred character as a minister of religion. He was, however, eventually the means of reducing the power of the Douglasses within limits more consistent with the peace and safety of the kingdom. James II., almost driven from his throne by the increasing insolence and influence of the chief of that house, went in despair to St Andrews, to seek the counsel and advice of its able and amiable bishop. On the prince and prelate meeting, the former laid before him the desperate situation to which the growing power and daring effrontery of the earl of Douglas had reduced him. He informed him that he had learned that Douglas was mustering a large army either to dethrone him or drive him from the country; that he knew no means of resisting him, and was utterly at a loss what steps to take in this emergency. "Sir," replied the bishop, perceiving that the disconsolate king was exhausted with fatigue as well as depressed in spirits, "I entreat your grace to partake, in the mean time, of some refreshment, and while ye do so, I will pass into my chamber and pray to God for you and the commonwealth of this realm."

On retiring, as he had proposed, the good bishop fervently implored the interference of the Almighty in behalf of the unhappy prince, who, friendless and distracted, had sought his counsel and advice; and when the king had finished his repast, he came forth, and taking him by the hand, led him into the apartment in which he himself had been praying, and there they both knelt down and besought the guidance and assistance of Him who directs all things,—a scene than which it would not probably be easy to conceive anything more striking or interesting.

When they had concluded their devotions, the bishop proceeded to point out to the king such a mode of procedure as he deemed the most suitable to the circumstances. He advised the monarch immediately to issue proclamations, calling upon his subjects in the north to muster around his standard, which he afterwards

erected at St Andrews, and still more wisely, and as the issue showed, with a still better effect, proposed his offering pardon to all who, having previously attached themselves to the earl of Douglas, would now abandon his cause, and aid that of the king. The consequence was, that James soon found himself at the head of forty thousand men. The final muster took place at Stirling, and a battle, which was to decide whether a Douglas or a Stuart was to be king of Scotland, appeared to be at hand; for the former with an equal force was at that moment encamped on the south side of the Carron. But, while in the very act of advancing with his army to encounter the forces of the king, Douglas detected the effects of the amnesty proclaimed by James by the advice of the bishop of St Andrews. A spirit of disaffection and indications of doubt and wavering appeared in his ranks. Alarmed by these symptoms, he marched his army back to their encampment, hoping to restore their confidence in him by the following day, when he proposed again to march forth against the enemy. The result, however, was directly the reverse of what he had anticipated. The feeling which he expected to subdue, in place of subsiding, gained ground; so that in the morning, there were not a hundred men remaining of all Douglas's host. Finding himself thus suddenly deserted, the earl instantly fled; and in this manner fell the overgrown power of the house of Douglas,—a circumstance mainly, if not entirely attributable to the wisdom and energy of the bishop of St Andrews.

On the death of James II., bishop Kennedy was intrusted with the charge and education of his son, afterwards James III., then about seven years of age. His known wisdom, prudence, and integrity, pointed him out as the fittest person for this important duty, and on the same ground there was added to it a large share in the management of public affairs during the regency of the queen-mother. He had acquired an authority in the kingdom by the mere influence of his character, which few had ever attained by adventitious circumstances, and which no churchman had at any time before enjoyed; and he was thus enabled to accomplish more amongst a rude and barbarous people, than would have been yielded to the mere force of power or rank. The consequence was, that an unusual quietness and prosperity pervaded the whole kingdom during his administration. He enjoyed the confidence and good-will of all parties, and was no less esteemed for his probity, humanity, and wisdom, than admired for the splendour of his abilities; and so highly was his character appreciated, and so universal the satisfaction which his government afforded, that the chief management of public affairs was still left in his hands even after the death of the queen-mother, and remained with him until his own death, which took place on the 10th of May, 1466, an event which was widely and sincerely deplored.

—Bishop Kennedy was not less remarkable for his munificence than for the other splendid qualities which composed his character. He founded the college at St Andrews, called St Salvator's, in honour of our Saviour, and endowed it with a fund for the maintenance of a provost, four regents, and eight poor scholars, or bursars, at an expense of about ten thousand pounds. He built a ship, which was afterwards known by the name of the Bishop's Barge, at a similar cost, and his tomb is said to have been equally expensive with the two former. In 1444, he was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, but this office he resigned in a few weeks afterwards, because he found it interfered with those projects for doing good in his clerical capacity, which he had resolved to follow out from the beginning of his career. He was, by his own desire, interred in the collegiate church of St Andrews, where his tomb is still shown, along with several silver maces which were found in it a few years ago.

—KER, JOHN, third duke of Roxburgh, distinguished by his eminent bibliographical knowledge, and his extensive and valuable collection of books, was born

in Hanover Square, London, on the 23d April, 1740. He was the eldest son of Robert, the second duke, by Essex Mostyn, daughter of Sir Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn, in Kentshire, baronet. In 1755, he succeeded his father in the dukedom, to which was attached the British peerage of earl and baron Ker of Wakefield; and he appears to have soon after proceeded upon his travels on the continent. It is stated that, while in Germany, he formed an attachment to Christiana Sophia Albertina, eldest daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and that their nuptials would have taken place, had not her sister Charlotte, just at that time, been espoused by the king of Great Britain. Etiquette then interfered, to prevent what would otherwise have been an equal and proper match, it being deemed improper that the elder should become the subject of the younger sister. Both parties, however, evinced the strength of their attachment, by devoting their after-lives to celibacy. It seems to have been to this event that Sir Walter Scott alludes, when he says of the duke: "Youthful misfortunes, of a kind against which neither wealth nor rank possess a talisman, cast an early shade of gloom over his prospects, and gave to one splendidly endowed with the means of enjoying society, that degree of reserved melancholy, which prefers retirement to the splendid scenes of gayety." To whatever extent George III. might be the innocent cause of his grace's misfortune, it does not appear to have, in the least, marred a strong friendship which existed between them—"a tie of rare occurrence," Sir Walter Scott justly observes, "between prince and subject." In 1767, his grace was appointed a lord of the bed-chamber, and next year was invested with the order of the thistle. The former honour gave him a title to be much about the court; but he never farther engaged himself in a public career.

The taste which his grace imbibed to so extraordinary an extent for book-collecting, is stated by Sir Walter to have originated in an accidental circumstance. "Lord Oxford and lord Sunderland, both famous collectors of the time, dined one day at the house of the second duke of Roxburgh, when their conversation happened to turn upon the editio princeps of Boccaccio, printed at Venice in 1471, and so rare that its very existence was doubted of. The duke was himself no collector, but it happened that a copy of this very book had passed under his eye, and been offered to him for sale at a hundred guineas, then thought an immense price. It was, therefore, with complete assurance that he undertook to produce to the connoisseurs a copy of the treasure in question, and did so at the time appointed, with no small triumph. His son, then marquis of Beaumont, never forgot the little scene upon this occasion, and used to ascribe to it the strong passion which he ever afterwards felt for rare books and editions, and which rendered him one of the most assiduous and judicious collectors that ever formed a sumptuous library."

There can be no doubt, at the same time, that the duke chanced to possess that perseverance of character and genuine literary taste, without which such an impulse as this must have been of no avail. "Sylvan amusements," says Sir Walter, "occupied the more active part of his time when in Scotland; and in book-collecting, while residing in London, he displayed a degree of patience which has rarely been equalled, and never excelled. It could scarcely be said, whether the duke of Roxburgh's assiduity and eagerness were most remarkable, when he lay for hours together, though the snow was falling at the time, beside some lovely spring in the Cheviot hills, where he expected the precarious chance of shooting a wild goose, when the dawning should break; or when he toiled for hours, nay, for days, collecting and verifying his edition of the Black Acts, or Caxton's Boke of Troy."

¹ Quarterly Review, xliv. 446.

With the exception of singularly fortunate adventures in the procuring of old books, the duke's life passed on in an almost unvaried tenor, in the pursuits just alluded to. At his seat of Fleurs in Scotland, where he spent but a small portion of his time, he had a proportionately small library; but at his house in St James's Square, London, where he chiefly resided, he, in time, amassed the most valuable private library in the country. In 1796, he was appointed groom of the stable, and initiated a privy councillor, and in 1801 was honoured with the garter, which he was permitted to bear along with the thistle, a mark of honour conferred on no other subject since 1712, when the duke of Hamilton had the same distinction from queen Anne.² For upwards of forty years, he continued his book-collecting habits without intermission, being much aided during a great part of the time by Mr G. Nichol, bookseller to the king, whose services towards the excellent library collected by George III., and afterwards given by George IV. to the nation, were also very eminent. At length, on the 19th of March, 1804, the duke died of inflammation in the liver, at his house in London, in the 64th year of his age. He was buried at Bowden, near Melrose.

His library, at his death, consisted of upwards of ten thousand distinct articles, many of them of the greatest rarity and of high value, though it was understood that in many cases he had purchased them at comparatively low prices. It would be vain to pretend that his grace had made or could make a good use of such a vast mass of literature, much of it of an obsolete kind; yet, neither can there be any doubt that he read much of what he purchased, and seemed, upon the whole, to aim rather at gratifying an innate taste for letters, and a devout and worshipful regard for their brightest ornaments, than either for the pride of possessing so many curiosities, or the usual antiquarian appreciation of minute peculiarities in the *externe* of books.

Early English literature and the *Table Ronde* had been the chief objects of his research. Of the former he possessed not only the rarest, but, in point of condition, the most beautiful specimens in existence. He idolized the talents of Shakspeare and Cervantes, and collected every thing that could illustrate their works. Fifteen different editions of Shakspeare's complete works, with seventy-five separate plays in different editions, and fourteen distinct works respecting this great dramatic author, are to be found in the catalogue. In the poetical department of early English literature, he had a great collection; in which the most curious article was a very large assortment of ancient ballads and fugitive pieces of poetry in three volumes folio, which had been first formed for the library of the earl of Oxford, afterwards enlarged by major Pearson and Mr Isaac Reid, then increased to a great extent by the duke himself, and which brought, at the sale, no less than four hundred and seventy-seven pounds, fifteen shillings. The duke had also collected many ancient manuscripts, some of them splendidly illuminated; and it is mentioned, that he read these with great facility, as was testified by various remarks which he wrote upon them with his own hand. He had the largest and finest collection of the books printed by Caxton, in England. At his death he was in full pursuit of the English dramatic authors; and when the large collection he possessed is taken into account, along with the comparative briefness of the time during which he had directed his attention this way, his industry seems prodigious. He had an uncommon quantity of books and tracts relative to criminals, detections of witches, and other impostors. Mr Nichol, in the preface to the catalogue, says, "he had a particular pleasure

² No man could have borne these honours with more grace than the duke of Roxburgh, whose "lofty presence and felicitous address," according to Sir Walter Scott, "recalled the ideas of a court in which lord Chesterfield might have acted as master of the ceremonies."

in exercising those discriminating powers which he so eminently possessed, in tracing out the images by which the perverted ingenuity of the human mind often attempts to impose upon the credulity of its fellow creatures."

This splendid library was, after a long and distressing delay from litigation, brought to sale, in May, 1812; an event which may be said to have created more sensation than any other connected with literature during the present century—the disclosure of the Waverley secret alone excepted. Mr Dibdin, in his *Bibliographical Decameron*, has given an account of the proceedings, under the metaphorical semblance of a battle among the bibliomaniacs. He calls it *THE ROXBURGH FIGHT*; and to this record we must be indebted for the account of a transaction which it would be improper to overlook in this memoir.

"It would seem," says this facetious writer, "as if the year of our Lord 1811, was destined, in the annals of the book auctions, to be calm and quiescent, as a prelude and contrast to the tremendous explosion or contest which, in the succeeding year, was to rend asunder the bibliomaniacal elements. It is well known that Mr George Nichol had long prepared the catalogue of that extraordinary collection; and a sort of avant-courier or picquet guard preceded the march of the whole army, in the shape of a *preface*, privately circulated among the friends of the author. The publication of a certain work, cyleped the *Bibliomania*, had also probably stirred up the metal and hardened the sinews of the contending book-knights. At length the hour of battle arrived. * * * For *two-and-forty* successive days—with the exception only of Sundays—was the voice and hammer of Mr Evans heard, with equal efficacy, in the dining-room of the late duke, which had been appropriated to the vendition of the books; and within that same space (some thirty-five feet by twenty,) were such deeds of valour performed, and such feats of book-heroism achieved, as had never been previously beheld: and of which the like will probably never be seen again. The shouts of the victors and the groans of the vanquished, stunned and appalled you as you entered. The throng and press, both of idle spectators and determined bidders, was unprecedented. A sprinkling of Caxtons and De Wordes marked the first day; and these were obtained at high, but comparatively with the subsequent sums given, moderate prices. *Theology*, *jurisprudence*, *philosophy*, and *philology*, chiefly marked the earlier days of this tremendous contest: and occasionally, during these days, there was much stirring up of courage, and many hard and heavy blows were interchanged; and the combatants may be said to have completely wallowed themselves in the conflict! At length came *poetry*, Latin, Italian, and French; a steady fight yet continued to be fought: victory seemed to hang in doubtful scales—sometimes on the one, sometimes on the other side of Mr Evans—who preserved throughout, (as it was his bounden duty to preserve,) a uniform, impartial, and steady course; and who may be said, on that occasion, if not to have 'rode the whirlwind,' at least to have 'directed the storm.' At length came *ENGLISH POETRY*!! and with that came the tug and trial of war: Greek met Greek: in other words, grandee was opposed to grandee; and the indomitable Atticus was compelled to retire, stunned by the repeated blows upon his helmet. The lance dropped from his hand, and a swimming darkness occasionally skimmed his view—for on that day, the *Waterloo* among book-battles, many a knight came far and wide from his retirement, and many an unfledged combatant left his father's castle to partake of the glory of such a contest. Among these knights from a 'far countree' no one shot his arrows with a more deadly effect than Astiachus! But it was reserved for Romulus to reap the greatest victories in that poetic contest! He fought with a choice body-guard; and the combatants seemed amazed at the perseverance and energy with which that body-guard dealt their death-blows around them!

“ *Dramatic Poetry* followed ; what might be styled rare and early pieces connected with our ancient poetry ; but the combat now took a more tranquil turn : as after ‘ a smart brush ’ for an *early Shakspeare* or two, Atticus and Coriolanus, with a few well known dramatic aspirants, obtained almost unmolested possession of the field.

“ At this period, to keep up our important metaphor, the great *Roxburgh day* of battle had been somewhere half gone through, or decided. There was no disposition, however, on either side to relax from former efforts ; when (prepare for something terrific !) the *Romances* made their appearance ; and just at this crisis it was that more blood was spilt, and more ferocity exhibited, than had ever been previously witnessed.”

We interrupt Mr Dibdin to mention, that the *great blow* of the day was struck for that volume which has been already alluded to, as purchased by the duke’s father for a hundred guineas,—a volume of singular value, which Mr Nichol very properly intitles the most *notorious* in existence—the Decameron of Boccaccio, printed (folio) by Christopher Valdarfer at Venice in 1471, and supposed to be quite unique. “ Mr Nichol, in his avant-courier of a preface,” thus writes Mr Dibdin in a note, “ had not a little provoked the bibliomaniacal appetites of his readers : telling them that ‘ in the class of Italian poets and novelists was the first edition of *Il Decamerone di Boccaccio*, 1471. This was certainly one of the scarcest, if not the very scarcest book, that existed. It has now for upwards of 300 years preserved its uniqueness, if that term be allowable.’ It was also previously known that this very book had been a sort of bone of contention among the collectors in the reign of the two first Georges. Lord Sunderland had seen it, and lord Oxford had cast a longing eye thereupon ; but it was reserved for an ancestor of the duke of Roxburgh to secure it—for the gallant price of 100 guineas ! This purchase took place before the year 1740. * * I have a perfect recollection of this notorious volume, while in the library of the late duke. It had a faded yellow morocco binding, and was a sound rather than a fine copy. The expectations formed of the probable price for which it would be sold were excessive ; yet not so excessive as the price itself turned out to be. The marked champions were pretty well known beforehand to be the earl Spencer, the marquis of Blandford (now duke of Marlborough), and the duke of Devonshire. Such a rencontre, such a ‘ shock of fight,’ naturally begot uncommon curiosity. My friends, Sir Egerton Bridges, Mr Lang, and Mr G. H. Freeling, did me the kindness to breakfast with me on the morning of the sale—and upon the conclusion of the repast, Sir Egerton’s carriage conveyed us from Kensington to St James’s Square.

————The morning lowered

And heavily with clouds came on the day—

Big with the fate of . . . and of . . .

In fact the rain fell in torrents, as we lighted from the carriage and rushed with a sort of impetuosity to gain seats to view the contest. The room was crowded to excess ; and a sudden darkness which came across gave rather an additional interest to the scene. At length the moment of sale arrived. Evans prefaced the putting up of the article by an appropriate oration, in which he expatiated upon its excessive rarity, and concluded by informing the company of the regret and even ‘ anguish of heart ’ expressed by Mr Van Praet [librarian to the emperor Napoleon] that such a treasure was not to be found in the imperial collection at Paris. Silence followed the address of Mr Evans. On his right hand, leaning against the wall, stood earl Spencer : a little lower down, and standing at right angles with his lordship, appeared the marquis of Blandford. Lord Al-

thorp stood a little backward to the right of his father, earl Spencer. Such was 'the ground taken up' by the adverse hosts. The honour of firing the first shot was due to a gentleman of Shropshire, unused to this species of warfare, and who seemed to recoil from the reverberation of the report himself had made!—"One hundred guineas," he exclaimed. Again a pause ensued; but anon the biddings rose rapidly to 500 guineas. Hitherto however, it was evident that the firing was but masked and desultory. At length all random shots ceased; and the champions before named stood gallantly up to each other, resolving not to flinch from a trial of their respective strengths.

"*A thousand guineas*' were bid by earl Spencer—to which the marquis added '*ten*.' You might have heard a pin drop. All eyes were turned—all breathing well nigh stopped—every sword was put home within its scabbard—and not a piece of steel was seen to move or to glitter, except that which each of these champions brandished in his valorous hand. See, see!—they parry, they lunge, they bet: yet their strength is undiminished, and no thought of yielding is entertained by either. *Two thousand pounds* are offered by the marquis. Then it was that earl Spencer, as a prudent general, began to think of a useless effusion of blood and expenditure of ammunition—seeing that his adversary was as resolute and 'fresh' as at the onset. For a quarter of a minute he paused: when my lord Althorp advanced one step forward, as if to supply his father with another spear for the purpose of renewing the contest. His countenance was marked by a fixed determination to gain the prize—if prudence, in its most commanding form, and with a frown of unusual intensity of expression, had not bade him desist. The father and son for a few seconds converse apart; and the biddings are resumed. '*Two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds*' said lord Spencer! The spectators were now absolutely electrified. The marquis quietly adds his usual '*ten*,' * * and there is an *end of the contest*. Mr Evans, ere his hammer fell made a due pause—and indeed, as if by something preternatural, the ebony instrument itself seemed to be charmed or suspended 'in the mid air.' However, at length, down dropped the hammer. * * * "The spectators," continues Mr Dibdin in his text, "stood aghast! and the sound of Mr Evans' prostrate sceptre of dominion reached, and resounded from, the utmost shores of Italy. The echo of that fallen hammer was heard in the libraries of Rome, of Milan, and St Mark. Boccaccio himself started from his slumber of some five hundred years; and Mr Van Praet rushed, but rushed in vain, amidst the royal book-treasures at Paris to see if a copy of the said *Valdarfer Boccaccio* could there be found! The price electrified the bystanders, and astounded the public!"³

"What boots it to recount minutely the various achievements which marked the conclusion of the *Roxburgh contest*, or to describe in the manner of Sterne, the melancholy devastations which followed that deathless day? The battle languished towards its termination [rather, we suspect, from a failure of ammunition than of valour or spirit on the part of the combatants]; but notwithstanding, there was oftentimes a disposition manifested to resume the glories of the earlier part of the day—and to show that the spirit of bibliomania was not made of poor and perishable stuff. Illustrious be the names of the book-heroes, who both conquered and fell during the tremendous conflict just de-

³ The marquis's triumph was marked by a plaudit of hands, and presently after he offered his hand to lord Spencer, saying, "We are good friends still!" His lordship replied, "Perfectly, indeed I am obliged to you." "So am I to you," said the marquis; "so the obligation is mutual." He declared that it was his intention to have gone as far as £5000. The noble marquis had previously possessed a copy of the same edition, wanting five leaves; "for which five leaves," lord S. remarked, "he might be said to have given £2000."

scribed! And let it be said, that John duke of Roxburgh both deserved well of his country and the book cause."

Mr Dibdin gives many other instructive particulars respecting this sale. He mentions that the duke's library occupied a range of apartments in the second floor of his house; and in a room adjoining, and into which the library opened, "slept and died" the illustrious collector himself. "All his migrations," says Mr Dibdin, "were confined to these two rooms. When Mr Nichol showed me the very bed upon which this bibliomaniacal duke had expired, I felt—as I trust I ought to have felt, upon the occasion!" He also informs us that a gentleman who bought many articles was generally understood to be an agent of the emperor Napoleon, but at last turned out to have been a secret emissary of the duke of Devonshire. A letter which he received from Sir Walter Scott on the occasion of this sale, is too characteristic to be omitted. "The Roxburgh sale," says the author of *Marmion*, "sets my teeth on edge. But if I can trust mine eyes, there are now twelve masons at work on a cottage and offices at this little farm, which I purchased last year. Item, I have planted thirty acres, and am in the act of walling a garden. Item, I have a wife and four bairns crying, as our old song has it, 'porridge ever mair.' So, on the whole, my teeth must get off the edge, as those of the fox with the grapes in the fable. *Abbotsford, by Melrose, 3rd May, 1812.*"

It would be improper, in a memoir of the duke of Roxburgh, to omit a circumstance so honourable to his name as the formation of the society called the "Roxburgh." "The number of noblemen and gentlemen," says Sir Walter Scott,⁴ "distinguished by their taste for this species of literature, who assembled there [at the sale] from day to day, and lamented or boasted the event of the competition, was unexampled; and in short the concourse of attendants terminated in the formation of a society of about thirty amateurs, having the learned and amiable earl Spencer at their head, who agreed to constitute a club, which should have for its object of union the common love of rare and curious volumes, and should be distinguished by the name of that nobleman, at the dispersion of whose library the proposal had taken its rise, and who had been personally known to most of the members. We are not sure whether the publication of rare tracts was an original object of their friendly re-union, or, if it was not, how and when it came to be engrafted thereupon. Early, however, after the formation of the Roxburgh Club, it became one of its rules, that each member should present the society, at such time as he might find most convenient, with an edition of a curious manuscript, or the reprint of some ancient tract, the selection being left at the pleasure of the individual himself. These books were to be printed in a handsome manner, and uniformly, and were to be distributed among the gentlemen of the club. * * * * Under this system, the Roxburgh Club has proceeded and flourished for many years, and produced upwards of forty reprints of scarce and curious tracts, among which many are highly interesting, not only from their value, but also their intrinsic merit."

It remains only to be added, that this association has been the model of several others in different parts of the world. We are aware, at least, of La Société des Biblioglyphes in Paris, and the Bannatyne, Maitland, and Abbotsford Clubs in our own country. Such institutions show that a taste for literary antiquities is extending amongst us; yet it must also be stated, that the desire of forming libraries such as that of the duke of Roxburgh is much on the decline, and that if his grace's stock had been brought to the hammer in our own day, it would have neither created the sensation which it did create, nor brought such "astounding" prices.

⁴ Quarterly Review, xliv. 417.

KER, ROBERT, earl of Ancrum, a nobleman of literary accomplishment, and the direct ancestor of the present noble family of Lothian, was descended from a third son of Sir Andrew Ker of Ferniehurst, and entered public life as laird of Ancrum in Roxburghshire. He was born about the year 1578, and succeeded to the family estate in 1590, on the death of his father, who was assassinated by his kinsman, Robert Ker, younger of Cessford. He was cousin to the famous, or rather infamous Robert Ker, the favourite of James VI., and who was raised by that prince to the title of earl of Somerset. The subject of this memoir appears to have also been honoured, at an early period of life, with court favour. Soon after the king's accession to the English throne, he is observed to occupy a considerable station in the household of prince Henry, which was, perhaps, more splendid, and consisted of more persons than the present royal household. He afterwards was employed about the person of prince Charles, who became his patron through life. By the mediation of this prince, a match was effected between Sir Robert and the lady Anne Stanley, daughter of the earl of Derby.

In 1620, Sir Robert was involved in a fatal quarrel by a young man named Charles Maxwell, who insulted him, without the least provocation, as he was entering the palace at Newmarket. In a duel, which followed, Sir Robert killed his antagonist; and, although the friends of the deceased are said to have acquitted him of all blame, so strict were the rules established by the king for the prevention and punishment of duels, that he was obliged to fly to Holland, where he remained about a year. During his exile, he employed himself in the collection of pictures, for which, like his royal master, he had a good taste: those which he brought with him on his return, were eventually presented to the prince. He was also distinguished by his literary taste. In Drummond's works there are a letter and sonnet which he addressed, in 1624, to that poet, and which breathe an amiable and contemplative spirit. The latter is as follows:

A SONNET IN PRAISE OF A SOLITARY LIFE.

SWEET solitary life! lovely, dumb joy,
 That need'st no warnings how to grow more wise
 By other men's mishaps, nor the annoy
 Which from sore wrongs done to one's self doth rise.
 The morning's second mansion, truth's first friend,
 Never acquainted with the world's vain broils,
 Where the whole day to our own use we spend,
 And our dear time no fierce ambition spoils.
 Most happy state, that never takest revenge
 For injuries received, nor dost fear
 The court's great earthquake, the grieved truth of change,
 Nor none of falsehood's savoury lies dost hear;
 Nor knows hope's sweet disease that charms our sense,
 Nor its sad cure—dear-bought experience!

R. K. A.

On the accession of Charles to the throne, in 1625, Sir Robert Ker was one of the friends who experienced his favour. He was in that year constituted a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and in June, 1633, when the king was in Scotland at his coronation, he was elevated to the peerage, under the title of earl of Ancrum. Previous to this period, his son William, by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Murray of Blackbarony, had married his relative, Anne, countess of Lothian in her own right, and had been, by the king, en-

dowed with a full participation of that title. It was therefore arranged, in the patent granted to the subject of this memoir, that his own title should descend to the children of his second marriage. He thus enjoyed the singular honour of being father of two peers.

Unlike many other persons who owed every thing to this prince, the earl of Ancrum continued his steady adherent during the whole of his troubles; though he was unable to prevent his eldest son, the earl of Lothian, from acting one of the most conspicuous parts on the opposite side. On the death of Charles, his lordship took refuge in Holland, where he spent the remainder of his days in solitary afflictions and poverty, and died in 1654, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His title was inherited by his son Charles, but ultimately merged in that of Lothian. In Park's edition of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, there is a beautiful portrait of his lordship, assigning him a thoughtful and strongly-marked countenance, and apparently done in old age.

KERR, ROBERT, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1755.¹ He was the son of Mr James Kerr of Bughtridge, jeweller in Edinburgh, convener of the trades and M.P. for the city, which honours he held at the same time,² by Elizabeth, daughter of lord Charles Kerr, second son of Robert, first marquis of Lothian. Mr Kerr was educated at the High school and university of Edinburgh; and having qualified himself to act as a surgeon, entered into business as partner with an aged practitioner named Wardrope, whose daughter he subsequently married. He had the misfortune to be very lame in one of his limbs, which caused him to sink greatly to one side in walking. His first literary effort was a translation of Lavoisier's *Elements of Chemistry*, published in 1789, in which year he also gave to the world a version of Berthollet's *Essay on the New Method of Bleaching by means of Muriatic Acid and Oxygen*. The approbation with which these publications were received, induced him to commence a translation of Linnæus's *Zoological System*; two volumes of which were published, (4to) in 1792, but which did not meet with so much success as to tempt him to proceed with the rest. Having failed with the dry classifications of the Swedish philosopher, he commenced a translation of the more popular work of Buffon on *Oviparous Quadrupeds and Serpents*, the first volume of which appeared in 1793, and the fourth and last in 1800. The execution of these translations was highly extolled in the reviews of the time, and caused Mr Kerr to be respectfully known in the world of letters.

The political predilections of this gentleman being decidedly whiggish, he published in 1794, a pamphlet, entitled "A Vindication of the Friends of Freedom from the aspersion of Disloyalty;" being designed, as its name imports, to prove that the liberality of his party was not inconsistent with a steady attach-

¹ The exact place of his birth is not known; but it was a mansion in Roxburghshire, near the Cheviot hills, where his mother happened to be on a visit at the time. The usual residence of his parents was in Edinburgh.

² An intimate friend of Mr Robert Kerr supplies us with the following information respecting his father:—

"Mr James Kerr was the son of a jeweller in the Parliament Square, Edinburgh, whose shop was attached to the walls of the old cathedral of St Giles; the first on the right hand in going into the square. The house occupied by this person was a mere cellar under the shop, and partly projecting below the adjacent pavement, from which its sole light was derived by means of a grating. In consequence of the family, which was very numerous, being brought up in this miserable and unhealthy hovel, they all died in infancy, except the father of the author, whose life was saved by his being removed to more roomy accommodations on the opposite side of the square. Mr James Kerr was the last citizen who had the honour to represent the city in parliament. It may be mentioned that he was one of the jury on the famous trial of Carnegie of Finhaven, for the murder of the earl of Strathmore in 1728, when, through the persuasive eloquence of the first lord president Dundas, then at the bar, and counsel for the prisoner, the jury recognized the liberty of Scotland, by resuming the right to judge not only of the naked fact, but of the fact and the law conjunctively."

ment to the existing monarchical form of government. The prevailing tone of his mind was political, and he used to argue on topics which interested him with great ardour and even enthusiasm, insomuch that he often appeared suffering from passion when he was not.

In the year 1794, Mr Kerr was induced to embark his fortune, which was not inconsiderable, in the purchase and management of a paper-mill at Ayton in Berwickshire. The speculation, after a trial of several years, turned out unfortunately, and reduced him in the latter part of life to circumstances very inconsistent with his merits, either as a man or as an author. These circumstances, however, renewed his exertions in literature, after they had been long intermitted. In 1809, he published a General View of the Agriculture of Berwickshire, and in 1811, *Memoirs of Mr William Smellie*, and a History of Scotland during the reign of Robert Bruce, both of which last were in two volumes octavo. About the same time, he conducted through the press, for Mr Blackwood, a General Collection of Voyages and Travels, in eighteen volumes octavo. The memoirs of Mr Smellie, though disproportioned to the subject, contain much valuable literary anecdote. Mr Kerr's last work was a translation of Cuvier's *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, which was published in 1815 (after his death), with an introduction and notes by professor Jamieson. The event just alluded to took place on the 11th of October, 1813, when he was about fifty-eight years of age. He left one son, a captain in the navy, and two daughters, both of whom were married.

Mr Kerr was a kind and warm-hearted man, liberal and honourable in his dealings, possessed of extensive information, and in every respect an ornament to society.

KIRKALDY, WILLIAM, one of the earliest converts to the protestant faith in Scotland, and a brave and accomplished man, was the eldest son of Sir James Kirkaldy of Grange, high treasurer to James V. of Scotland.¹ Of the period of his birth and the method of his education we have been unable to discover any satisfactory information; but like the greater number of the Scottish barons at that time, he seems to have chosen, or to have been devoted by his parents, to the profession of arms. At the death of James, his father seems to have lost his situation in the government; yet with a view of procuring that nobleman's assistance to the cause of protestantism, he was one of the most active assistants in raising Arran to the regency; but in the hope he had formed, he was to a considerable extent disappointed.

Young Grange, as well as his father, had embraced the principles of the Reformation; and his first appearance in the historic page is as one of the conspirators against the persecutor, cardinal David Beaton. The circumstances of this renowned conspiracy are well known to the readers of history, and have already been commemorated in these pages. The conspirators, who, for some time after they had performed their zealous act in the cause of their creed, are said to have spent the period of their dangerous residence in the castle of St Andrews in riot and debauchery, surrendered themselves after a siege to a French force in the end of July or the beginning of August, 1546. It was stipulated that the lives of all that were in the castle should be spared; that they should be transported to France, whence, if they did not choose to continue in that country, they were to be transported to whatever other country they chose, Scotland excepted. The victors, however, did not find it necessary or convenient to attend to the terms of the stipulation; the greater part of the garrison were sent to the gal-

¹ The facts in this article are in general taken from the memoir of Kirkaldy of Grange by Mr Graham Dalziel, a gentleman who has been so minute in his investigations that it would be difficult to find a fact of importance omitted by him.

leys, and the leaders immured in different dungeons. Norman Leslie, Pete. Carmichael, and the subject of this memoir, were imprisoned in Mount St Michael, where they lay a considerable time. From this place they wrote a letter to John Knox, who was in the galleys, asking the somewhat superfluous question whether they might not with a good conscience break their prison. To this Knox naturally answered in the affirmative, with the proviso, that they were not morally entitled to shed blood in the attempt.

Embracing the opportunity of a festival night, when the garrison were intoxicated, they bound every man in the castle, locked the doors, and departed, having, it is said, strictly adhered to the humane recommendation of Knox. The two Leslies came to Rohan, and speedily escaped; but Kirkaldy and Peter Carmichael, disguised as beggars, wandered through the country for upwards of a quarter of a year; at the termination of which period they got on board a French ship, which landed them in the west of Scotland, whence they found their way into England.

Kirkaldy appears to have spent a considerable portion of the ensuing period of his life in France, where he entered the army, and was distinguished as a brave and skilful soldier in the wars between the French king and the emperor Charles V. Sir James Melville informs us, that in these wars he commanded a hundred light horsemen; and for his useful services, received the commendation of the duke of Vendome, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Aumale. Henry II., he adds, used to point him out and say, "Yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age." Henry indeed seems to have used him with the most endearing familiarity, and in all the pastimes which he attended, is said to have chosen Grange as a supporter of his own side, in their mimic battles; while, according to the same writer, who is always circumstantial in recording the honours paid to a Scotsman, the great constable of France would never speak to him uncovered. We are not aware of the exact date of his return to Scotland, but we find him in that country in the year 1559.

During the border wars of this period, an incident occurred peculiarly characteristic of the chivalrous temper of Kirkaldy, which is otherwise remarkable as being the latest "passage of arms" which has been handed down to us, described with all the minute "pomp and circumstance" of Froissart. Lindsay of Pitcottie, who describes the circumstance, tells us, that lord Evers's brother desired to fight with Kirkaldy "ane singular combatt upone horseback with speares." Sir William was "very weill content" with such a species of amusement, and consented to meet the challenger on any spot he might prefer. The lord Evers's brother was attended by the governor of Berwick and his whole garrison, while Kirkaldy was waited on by "Monseor Doswell (Mons. d' Osweil?), the king of France lieftennent," with the garrison of Heymouth, and other Scottish gentlemen. In bringing the opposing armies so near each other, and within view of example so seducing, it was necessary to "decerne under paine of treason, that no man should come near the championes, be the space of ane flight shot." Each of the championes had a squire to bear his spear, there were two trumpeters to sound the charge, and after the most approved method, two lords were appointed as judges of the field, "to sie the matter finished." "And when all things war put to ordour, and the championes horsed, and their speirs in their hands, then the trumpeters sounded, and the heralds cryed, and the judges let them go, and they ran together very furiously on both sides, bot the laird of Grange ran his adversar, the Inglisman, throw his shoulder blaid, and aff his hors, and was woundit deadlie, and in perill of his lyff; but quihidder he died or lived I cannot tell,² bot the laird of Grange wan the victorie that day."

² Lindsay of Pitcottie, *ii.* 524.

Kirkaldy became after this incident actively engaged in the cause of the Reformation. When the French troops arrived to subdue Scotland, and by means of the popish faction reduce it to a province of France, no man stood firmer to the interests of his country, and in the first encounter he is said to have slain the first man with his own hand. To the French, who were aware of his bravery and military skill, he was particularly obnoxious, and in one of their inroads through Fife they razed his house of Grange to the foundation. Naturally exasperated at such an act, Kirkaldy sent a defiance to the French commander; reproached him for his barbarity, and reminded him of the many Frenchmen whom he had saved when engaged in quarrels not his own. The commander, less chivalrous than Grange, paid no regard to the communication; and the latter took vengeance by waylaying a party of marauders, and cutting them off to a man. During this invasion of Fife by the French, he had a mere handful of men, and these were but poorly provided, yet he retarded the powerful and well-appointed troops of France at every village and at every field, disputing as it were, every inch of ground, and making them purchase at a ruinous price every advantage.

In common with all the wise and good among his countrymen, Kirkaldy was convinced of the danger of the French alliance, and of the far superior advantages which might be derived from a connexion with England, which by a barbarous and ignorant policy had been always overlooked or despised, and he contributed materially to the formation of that friendship which subsisted between the ministers of Elizabeth and the Scottish reformers, without which, it may be doubted if the reformation of that country could have been effected. In the contests that arose between Mary and her subjects, while it must be admitted that his correspondence with the English was clandestine, contrary to the law, and not perhaps dictated by motives quite purely patriotic, he steadily adhered to the popular cause. Kirkaldy was among the number of the adherents of Moray, who on the temporary success of the queen, were compelled in 1565, to take refuge or "banish themselves" in England, and the criminal record shows us some instances of barbarous punishment denounced on those who had intercourse with them, as "intercommuning with rebels."³

When after her unhappy marriage and flight to Dunbar, she returned with an army to meet the lords who had entered into a confederation for the preservation of the prince, Grange was one of the most active and influential among them, having the command of two hundred horse, with which he intended at Carberry hill, by a stratagem, to have seized upon the earl of Bothwell, which he hoped would have been the means of putting an end to the contest between the queen and her subjects. The queen, however, who highly respected him, perceiving the approach of the troop, and understanding that he was their leader, requested to speak with him, which prevented the attempt being made. While he was in this conference with the queen, Bothwell called forth a soldier to shoot him, who was in the very act of taking aim, when the queen perceiving him, gave a sudden scream, and exclaimed to Bothwell, that he surely would not disgrace her so far as to murder a man who stood under her protection. With that frank honesty which was natural to him, Kirkaldy told her that it was of absolute necessity, if she ever expected to enjoy the services and the confidence of her subjects, that she should abandon Bothwell, who was the murderer of her husband, and who could never be a husband to her, having been so lately married to the sister of the earl of Huntly. Bothwell, who stood near enough to overhear part of this colloquy, offered to vindicate himself by single combat, from the charge of any one who should accuse him of murdering the

³ Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, i. (p. i.) 466, 478.

king. Grange told him he should have a speedy answer ; and returning to the lords, found little difficulty in persuading them of the propriety of his accepting the challenge, which he did without hesitation. Bothwell, however, thought it prudent to decline, on the plea that Kirkaldy being only a baron, was not his equal. To the laird of Tullibardine he objected on the same ground. The lord Lindsay then came forward, whom he could not refuse on the score of inequality ; but he finally declined to engage. The queen then sent again for Grange, and proposed surrendering herself to the lords. Bothwell, in the mean time, made his escape. The queen holding out her hand, Kirkaldy kissed it, and taking her horse by the bridle turned him about, and led her down the hill. This was almost the full measure of Mary's humiliation, which was accomplished by her entry into Edinburgh amidst the execrations of the rabble. The lords, (particularly Kirkaldy) were still willing to treat her with kindness, if she could have been prevailed on to abandon Bothwell. The same night, however, she wrote a letter to him, calling him " her dear heart, whom she should never forget nor abandon, though she was under the necessity of being absent from him for a time ;" adding, that she had sent him away only for his own safety, and willing him to be comforted, and to be watchful and take care of himself. This letter falling into the hands of the lords, convinced them that her passion for Bothwell was incurable ; and they determined to secure her in Lochleven. Grange alone wished to excuse her, and hoped that gentle usage might yet reclaim her ; but they showed him her letter to Bothwell which had fallen into their hands, which left him no room to speak more on her behalf. The queen, in the mean time, sent him a letter, lamenting her hard usage, and complaining of broken promises. He wrote to her in return, stating what he had already attempted in her behalf, and how his mouth had been stopped by her letter to Bothwell ; " marvelling that her majesty considered not that the said earl could never be her lawful husband, being so lately before married to another, whom he had deserted without any just ground, even though he had not been so hated for the murder of the king her husband. He therefore requested her to dismiss him entirely from her mind, seeing otherwise that she could never obtain the love or respect of her subjects, nor have that obedience paid her which otherwise she might expect."

His letter contained many other loving and humble admonitions which made her bitterly to weep. Eager to free the queen and the nation of Bothwell, Grange most willingly accepted the command of two small vessels that had been fitted up from Morton's private purse (for Bothwell had not left a sufficient sum for the purpose in the Scottish treasury), with which he set sail towards Orkney, whither it was reported Bothwell had fled. He was accompanied by the laird of Tullibardine and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. Bothwell having made his escape from Orkney, was pursued by Grange to the coast of Norway, where, at the moment when they had almost overtaken the fugitive, the impetuosity of Kirkaldy, who called on the mariners to hoist more sail than the vessel was able to carry, lost them their prize, and they were wrecked on a sand bank. Bothwell escaped in a small boat to the shore, leaving his ship and his servants a prey to Kirkaldy. This unhappy man fled to Denmark, and the method of his end is too well known to be repeated.

The regent Moray was in the mean time establishing order and tranquillity generally through the country. The king, an infant, had been crowned at Stirling, and his authority in the person of the regent very generally acknowledged, when the queen, making her escape from Lochleven, and putting herself into the hands of the Hamiltons, created new and serious calamities. The regent being at that time in Glasgow, holding his justice-eyre, was just

at hand, and meeting with the queen and her followers at Langside, on the way for Dumbarton castle, gave them, though they were far more in number than all the king's friends that he could muster, an entire overthrow. The regent led the battle himself, assisted by Grange, who being an experienced soldier, was appointed to oversee the whole battle; to ride to every wing, and to encourage and make help wherever it was most required. The dispositions of the regent were excellent, and his followers behaved with great courage; so that the victory was soon won, and there being few horsemen to pursue, and the regent calling out to save and not to kill, there were not many taken or killed; the greatest slaughter, according to Sir James Melville, being at the first rencounter by the shot of some troops that were planted behind the dykes at the head of the lane leading up to the village.

Having taken the command of the castle of Edinburgh from Sir James Balfour, the regent bestowed it upon Grange, who appears to have had the principal direction of affairs during the time that Moray through the intrigues of the queen's faction was called up to the conferences at York. Lethington, subtle, restless, and changeable, had by this time changed to the queen's side, whom he almost openly owned during the time of these conferences, and he had imposed upon the unsuspecting disposition of Grange, enticing him into a kind of doubtful neutrality, which had an unhappy influence upon the public cause, and ended fatally for Grange himself. Lethington and Sir James Balfour having been both at last arrested under an accusation of having been concerned in the king's murder, Grange took them into his own hands, and protected them in the castle, which he refused to deliver up to the regent. On the murder of the regent Moray in 1570, it did not immediately appear what party Grange would embrace. It was evident, however, that for some time previous to this event he had leaned to the side of the queen, and the castle of Edinburgh in a short time became the resort and general rendezvous of all who opposed the party of the prince.

The earl of Lennox succeeding to the regency was supported by Elizabeth, who sent an army into Scotland for that purpose, and to retaliate upon some of the border chieftains, who had made inroads into the English territories, particularly Buccleugh and Fernihurst. Grange, in the mean time, by the orders of the queen's faction, who now assembled parliaments of their own, liberated all those who had been formerly given him in charge as prisoners, for their opposition to the king in the person of the regent. These, dispersing themselves over the country, some pretending to be employed in a civil, and others in a military capacity, carried dissension and rebellion along with them, to the entire ruin of the miserable inhabitants. Lord Seaton, to intimidate the citizens of Edinburgh, who in general leaned to the side of the king, assembled his vassals at Holyrood house, while the Hamiltons, with the whole strength of their faction, assembled at Linlithgow, when they made a sudden and unexpected attack upon the castle of Glasgow, the residence of Lennox the regent. Coming upon the place by surprise, they gained the court, and set fire to the great hall; but they were soon repulsed, and the approach of the king's army, a principal part of which was English, compelled them to raise the siege. The Hamiltons suffered most severely on this occasion, their lands in Clydesdale being ravaged, Cadzow plundered, and the town of Hamilton, with the seat of the Hamiltons, burned to the ground. Nor did this suffice; they also burned the house of the duke of Chatelherault in Linlithgow, the palace of Kinnoul, the house of Pardovan, and Bynie, Kincavil, and the chapel of Livingston.

Grange, meanwhile, acting somewhat dubiously, and not supporting the extreme measures of either of the parties, was confounded to see a foreign foe in

the heart of the kingdom, and Mary's friends used with such extreme rigour; and afraid of being entrapped himself, began to fortify the castle with all haste, and lay in every thing necessary for a siege. Lennox, in the mean time, summoned an army in the king's name to attend him, with twenty days' provision, and to complete his equipments, he applied to Grange for some field-pieces. The request was, however, refused, under a pretence that he would not be accessory to the shedding of blood. The purpose of this armament was to interfere with a parliament which the queen's party intended to have held at Linlithgow, which it effectually accomplished; and on the following month (October) Lennox held one for the king in Edinburgh. The insignia of royalty being supposed necessary to the legality of parliaments, they were demanded from Grange, who flatly refused them, and from that time forth he was regarded as determinedly hostile to that cause for which he had done and suffered so much. Through the mediation of Elizabeth, however, who was at the time amusing Mary and her friends with proposals for restoring her to some part of her authority, a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon for two months, which being renewed, was continued till the succeeding April, 1571.

The truce, however, was not strictly observed by either of the parties. Fortresses were taken and retaken on both sides oftener than once, and in the month of April, Dumbarton castle, reckoned impregnable, was taken by surprise by the friends of the regent, who, on a sentence of forfeiture in absence, hanged Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, who had taken refuge in the place. Alarmed at the fate of Dumbarton, Grange repaired the walls of the castle, cut away all the prominences on the rock, and smoothed the banks to prevent the possibility of an escalade. He also prepared the steeple of St Giles for receiving a battery, and carried away the ordnance belonging to the town. His brother James at the same time arrived from France with "ten thousand crowns of gold, some murrions, corslets, hagbuts, and wine, whilk was saillie convoyit from Leyth be the horsemen and soldiers of the town." All men who favoured not the queen were now commanded to leave the town, and even his old tried friend and fellow sufferer, John Knox, was obliged to quit his place, which was supplied by Alexander, bishop of Galloway. The regent's soldiers, however, took possession of some ruinous houses close to the walls, whence they annoyed the town. There was now an end to all business; public worship ceased, and there was nothing to be heard but the thundering of artillery. The queen's party had now, however, the pride of also holding a parliament in Edinburgh, which declared the demission of Mary null; forbade any innovation to be made in the presbyterian religion; and after two or three hours deliberation, rode in procession from the Canongate to the castle, having the regalia borne before it. Prayers for the queen were ordered by this meeting, and all who omitted them were forbidden to preach. During these proceedings, there were daily skirmishes on the streets, and the regent still kept possession of Holyrood house. In the month of August in this year, an envoy arrived from the king of France, with money, arms, and ammunition for Grange; but the money fell into the hands of the regent. In the ensuing month, Grange laid a plan for seizing the regent at Stirling, and bringing him safe to the castle, which failed of success only through the imprudence of those who conducted it. The regent was actually made a prisoner, and on the road for Edinburgh, when, principally through the valour of Morton, he was rescued, but shot by one of the party, when they saw they could not carry him away. David Spens of Wormiston, who had him in charge, and used every endeavour to save him, was also shot in revenge, though the wounded regent attempted to protect him. This was unfortunate for Grange. Mar was immediately elected regent; a man of far higher merit, and much

more respected than Lennox, and in still greater favour with the ministers of Elizabeth; and he in the end proved too strong for the misled, though patriotic Grange. The war now assumed the most ferocious character. Morton destroyed the whole of Grange's property in Fife. Grange, on the same day retaliated by burning Dalkeith; and for upwards of two months they reciprocally hanged their prisoners.

The distress of the town and the surrounding districts now became extreme; the poor were turned without the gates, and the empty houses pulled down and sold for fuel; a stone weight being sold for what would purchase a peck of meal. Through the mediation of the English and French ambassadors, an armistice was at last agreed to, and all the differences between Morton and Grange nearly made up. Through the intrigues of Maitland, however, who had gained an extraordinary influence over him, Grange rose in his demands, and nothing was accomplished further than a renewal of the truce. In the mean time Mar, who was a sincere, good man, and truly devoted to the public interests, died, and was succeeded by Morton, a man of great address, and the mortal enemy of Maitland. He too, however, professed to desire peace, and offered the same terms as Mar. Grange was to deliver up the castle in six months, and a convention was called to consider the means of effecting a double peace. Both parties were at the same time attempting to over-reach each other. Morton thirsted for the wealthy estates of some of the queen's adherents; and the queen's adherents wanted to gain time, in the hope of procuring effectual aid from France. The Hamiltons, Huntly, Argyle, and their followers, were now weary of the war; and in a meeting at Perth accepted of the terms offered by Morton, and, according to Sir James Melville, abandoned Grange, who would willingly have accepted the same terms; but from that time forth Morton would not permit the offers to be mentioned to him. The day of the truce had no sooner expired than a furious cannonade was commenced by Grange on the town from the castle. He also shortly after, on a stormy night, set fire to the town, and kept firing upon it to prevent any person coming forth to extinguish the flames; a piece of wanton mischief, which procured him nothing but an additional share of odium. Being invested by the marshal of Berwick, Sir William Drury, with an English army, the garrison was soon reduced to great straits. Their water was scanty at best, and the falling of one of the chief towers choked up their only well. The Spur, a building of great strength, but imperfectly manned, was taken by storm, with the loss of eight killed, and twenty-three wounded. Sir Robert Melville, along with Grange, were, after beating a parley, let over the walls by ropes, for the gate was choked up with rubbish. They demanded security for their lives and fortunes, and that Maitland and lord Hume might go to England, Grange being permitted to go or stay as he might deem best. These conditions not being granted, they returned to the garrison, but their soldiers refused to stand a new assault, and threatened in case of another that they would hang Lethington, whom they regarded as the cause of their protracted defence, over the wall. Nothing remained, therefore, but an unconditional surrender; and so odious were the garrison to the citizens, that an escort of English soldiers was necessary to protect them from the rabble. After three days they were all made prisoners. Lethington died suddenly, through means, it has been supposed, of poison, which he had taken of his own accord. Grange, Sir James Kirkaldy, (his brother,) James Mossman and James Leckie, goldsmiths, were hanged on the third of August, 1573, and their heads afterwards set up on the most prominent places of the castle wall.

Thus ignominiously died one of the bravest warriors⁴ of his age; the dupe of

⁴ In the case of Kirkaldy there appears to have been considerable debate on the relevancy of the indictment on which he was tried, too technical to be interesting to the general reader.—*Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, ii. 3.

a volatile and crafty statesman, and of his own vanity to be head of a party. He had been one of the earliest friends, and, during its first days of peril, one of the most intrepid defenders of the Reformation. Knox, who knew and loved him well, lamented his apostasy, and with that sagacity which was peculiar to his character, admonished him of the issue. "That man's soul is dear to me," said Knox, "and I would not willingly see it perish; go and tell him from me, that, if he persists in his folly, neither that crag in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal wit of that man whom he counts a demi-god, shall save him; but he shall be dragged forth, and hanged in the face of the sun." He returned a contemptuous answer dictated by Maitland; but he remembered the warning when on the scaffold with tears, and listened with eagerness when he was told the hope that Knox always expressed, that, though the work of grace upon his heart was sadly obscured, it was still real, and would approve itself so at last; of which he expressed with great humility his own sincere conviction.

KIRKWOOD, JAMES, an eminent teacher and writer on grammar, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was born near Dunbar. The circumstances of his education are unknown; he was first schoolmaster of Linlithgow, and subsequently of Kelso. His school at Linlithgow was one of considerable reputation, and he would appear to have been intrusted, like many teachers of the present day, with pupils who boarded in his house. The celebrated John, second earl of Stair, was thus educated by him. The first work ascertained to have been published by him, was an "Easy Grammar" of the Latin language, which appeared at Glasgow in 1674. In 1677, he published at London an octavo fasciculus of "Sentences," for the use of learners. In the succeeding year appeared his "Compendium of Rhetoric," to which was added a small treatise on Analysis. After the Revolution, he was sent for by the parliamentary commissioners for colleges, on the motion of lord president Stair; and his advice was taken about the best Latin grammar for the Scottish schools. The lord president asked him what he thought of Despauter. He answered, "A very unfit grammar; but by some pains it might be made a good one." The lord Crossrig desiring him to be more plain on this point, he said, "My lord president, if its superfluities were rescinded, the defects supplied, the intricacies cleared, the errors rectified, and the method amended, it might pass for an excellent grammar." The lord president afterwards sent for him, and told him it was the desire of the commissioners that he should immediately reform Despauter, as he had proposed; as they knew none fitter for the task. He accordingly published, in 1695, a revised edition of Despauter, which continued to be commonly used in schools till it was superseded by Ruddiman's Rudiments. Kirkwood was a man of wit and fancy, as well as of learning; and having fallen into an unfortunate quarrel with his patrons the magistrates, which ended in his dismissal, he took revenge by publishing a satirical pamphlet, entitled "The twenty-seven gods of Linlithgow," meaning thereby the twenty-seven members of the town-council. He appears to have afterwards been chosen schoolmaster at Kelso, where he probably died.

KNOX, JOHN, the most eminent promoter of the Reformation in Scotland, was born at Haddington in the year 1505. His father, though himself a man of no note, was descended from the ancient house of Ranfurly in the shire of Renfrew. Of the mother of the great reformer nothing farther is known than that her name was Sinclair,—a name which he frequently used in after-life, when to have subscribed his own would have exposed him to danger: thus many of his letters in times of trouble are signed "John Sinclair." Though a man of no rank in society, his father would yet seem to have been possessed of a competency beyond that of the ordinary class of the peasantry of the times, if such an inference be permitted from the circumstance of his having given his son an

education which was then attainable only by a very few. This is a point, however, on which there has been also much dispute; some representing his parents as in a "mean condition," others as persons of extensive property. Whatever may have been the condition of his parents—a matter of little moment—there is no doubt regarding the only circumstance of any importance connected with the question, namely, that he received a liberal education.

His course of learning began at the grammar-school of Haddington, where he acquired the elements of the Latin language. He was afterwards, about the year 1524, sent to the university of St Andrews. From the circumstance of the name "John Knox" appearing on the list of matriculated students, for the year 1520, in the Glasgow college, it has been presumed that he studied there also, and this, as appears by the dates, four years previous to his going to St Andrews; but the supposition that this John Knox was the reformer, is much weakened by the fact, that many of the Knoxes of Ranfurly, the house from which his father was descended, were educated at the university of Glasgow. Amongst the last of these of any note were Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, and, after him, his son and successor, Sir Thomas Knox. In the absence, therefore, of all other evidence, this circumstance in the life of the reformer must be held as extremely doubtful, especially as no allusion is made to it, either by himself, his contemporaries, or any of the earlier writers who have spoken of him. Knox, when he went to St Andrews, was in the nineteenth year of his age, and was yet undistinguished by any indications of that peculiar character and temper, or that talent, which afterwards made him so conspicuous. His literary pursuits had hitherto been limited to the acquisition of the Latin language, Greek and Hebrew being almost unknown in Scotland, although at an after period of life Knox acquired them both. His removal to St Andrews, however, opened up new sources of learning and of knowledge. John Mair, a celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, who had studied at the colleges of England and Paris, was then principal of St Salvator's college, St Andrews. He was a man of no great strength of mind, nor of very high attainments; but he had while in Paris imbibed, and he now boldly inculcated, civil and religious principles directly at variance with the opinions and practices of the times. He denied the supremacy of the pope, and held that he was amenable to a general council, which might not only rebuke and restrain him, but even depose him from his dignity. He held that papal excommunications were of no force, unless pronounced on just and valid grounds, and that tithes were not of divine origin. He, besides, fearlessly censured the avarice and ambition of the clergy. And with regard to civil matters, his opinions were no less daring, and not less boldly inculcated. He taught his pupils to consider kings as having no other right to their elevation, but what proceeded from their people, to whom they were amenable for their conduct, and by whom they might be judicially proceeded against. Such were some of the doctrines taught by Mair; and that they had taken a strong hold of Knox, who was one of his pupils, his after life sufficiently shows. For we find him, with the courage which belonged to his character, practising himself, and showing others how to practise that which his preceptor only taught.

In the studies of the times, Knox now made rapid progress. He was created master of arts, and ordained a priest before he had attained the age (twenty-five) appointed by the canon law for receiving ordination. It will not, perhaps, be lost time to pause for a moment at this period of his life, since it presents us with the interesting sight of a great mind slumbering in its strength, and unconscious at once of the darkness with which it was surrounded, and of there being a brighter and a better world beyond the narrow precincts which it had been taught to consider as the utmost limits of its range. Here we find the

great reformer, passively, and without remark or objection, becoming a minister of that church which he was afterwards to overturn and erase from his native soil; becoming a minister of that religion which he was afterwards to drive from the land, with a violence which shook both the kingdom and the throne. A little longer, however, and we find this mighty mind emerging gradually but majestically into the light of day. The discovery had been made that there lay a wider and a fairer region beyond the bounds of the prison-house, and Knox hastened himself to seek and to point out the way to others.

He soon betook himself to the study of the writings of the fathers of the Christian church; and, in the works of Jerome and Augustine, found the doctrines and tenets which effected that revolution in his religious sentiments, afterwards productive of such important results. He was now in the thirtieth year of his age, but he did not either publicly avow the change which had taken place in his religious creed, or attempt to impress it upon others, for several years afterwards. In the mean time the work of reformation had been making irregular but rapid progress. Patrick Hamilton had already preached the new faith in Scotland, and had fallen a martyr to its doctrines, and many others of not less zeal, but of less note, had shared a similar fate. Copies of the Scriptures were now surreptitiously introduced into the kingdom, and eagerly read by those into whose hands they fell. Poets employed their fascinating powers in bringing the church of Rome and its ministers into contempt. The effect of all this was a violent agitation of the public mind. The reformed doctrines were every where spoken of and discussed. They became the topics of common conversation, and were the themes of disquisition amongst the learned. It was at this critical period, about the year 1542, in the midst of this feverish excitement of public opinion, that Knox first stepped into the arena as a combatant in the cause of the new faith. He was still a teacher of philosophy in the college of St Andrews, but he availed himself of the opportunities which this appointment afforded, of disseminating his doctrines amongst his pupils, whom he taught to look with abhorrence and contempt on the corruptions and errors of the Romish church. Though such opinions were now spreading widely, and were made matter of ordinary discussion, their abettors were not yet, by any means, safe from the vengeance of the Romish ecclesiastics, who were yet struggling hard to suppress the heresies which were every where springing up in the land, and threatening the speedy ruin of their church. Knox's case was too marked and too conspicuous an instance of defection, to escape for any length of time some proof of that wrath which it was so well calculated to excite. He was degraded from the priesthood, had sentence passed against him as a heretic, and only escaped assassination by flying from St Andrews, that fate having been marked out for him by cardinal Beaton. On leaving St Andrews, Knox found protection in the family of Douglas of Langniddrie, where he acted in the capacity of tutor. Here, Douglas himself being a zealous advocate for the new faith, Knox continued to preach the doctrines which had driven him from St Andrews; and in these doctrines he not only instructed the family with which he lived, but also the people in the neighbourhood, whom he invited to attend his prelections. From the consequences which must infallibly have attended this perseverance in disseminating principles so inimical to the church, Knox was only saved by the death of cardinal Beaton, who was assassinated in the castle of St Andrews, on the 29th of May, 1546. Though, by the death of Beaton, Knox probably escaped the utmost severities which prelacy could inflict; he yet did not escape all visitation from its wrath.

John Hamilton, the successor of Beaton, sought his destruction with as much eagerness as his predecessor had done, compelling him to flee from place to place,

and to seek his safety in concealment. Apprehensive of falling at last into the hands of his enemies, he, after having led a vagrant and miserable life for many months, at length sought an asylum in the castle of St Andrews, which had been in the possession of the cardinal's assassins since the period of his death, and which they had held out against repeated attempts of the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, to take it. Knox entered the castle of St Andrews at the time of Easter, 1547. This step he had been prevailed upon to take by two of his warmest friends, the lairds of Langniddrie and Ormiston, at a time when he had himself determined to retire to Germany.

The circumstance of Knox's having taken shelter, on this occasion, with the assassins of Beaton, has given rise to reflections on his character, involving charges of the most serious nature. Some of them are wholly unfounded, others unreasonable. He has been accused of being one of the conspirators who projected the death of Beaton; which is totally unsupported by any evidence, and must, therefore, in common justice, be utterly rejected. He has been said to have made himself accessory to the crime of the cardinal's murder by taking shelter amongst those by whom it was perpetrated; a most unreasonable and unwarrantable conclusion. His own life was in imminent danger, and he naturally sought shelter where it was most likely to be found, without reference to place or circumstances, and we cannot see by what reasoning he could be reduced to the dilemma of either sacrificing his own life or submitting to be accused as an accessory to murder; the one consequence threatening him by his remaining at large, the other by his flying to a place of refuge. He has been accused of vindicating the deed in his writings. This length he certainly has gone; but, considering all the circumstances connected with it, such vindication on the part of Knox is not much to be wondered at, nor is it calculated to excite much reasonable prejudice against him. Beaton eagerly sought his life; he was his personal enemy, and a relentless and cruel enemy to all who were of the same faith. If, therefore, we are called upon to disapprove of Knox's justification of the death of Beaton, we should at the same time be permitted to remark, that it was an event which he had but little reason to regret.

After entering the castle of St Andrews, Knox resumed his duties as a teacher, and proceeded to instruct his pupils as before. He also resumed his lectures on the Scriptures, and regularly catechised his hearers in the parish church of the city. Hitherto Knox's appearances as a disciple and teacher of the reformed doctrines had been rather of a private character, or at least only before select audiences, such as his own class of pupils, or a few neighbours congregated together as at Langniddrie. He was now, however, about to come forward in a more public, or at least more formal capacity. At the time that he sought refuge in the castle of St Andrews, there were three persons of note there, all zealous reformers, who had also fled to it as a sanctuary. These were Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Henry Balnave of Hallhill, and John Rough, a celebrated reformed preacher, and who was at this moment publicly preaching in St Andrews. These persons were so much struck with Knox's talents and his manner of instructing his pupils, that they earnestly exhorted him to come publicly forward as a preacher of the reformed doctrines. This, however, Knox declined; not from any unwillingness to expose himself to the dangers which then attended the discharge of such a duty, nor from any reluctance to devote himself to the great cause which he had espoused, and of which he was afterwards so singular a promoter; but from a feeling of diffidence in his own powers, and a deep sense of the awful importance of the charge to which he was invited; he besides entertained some scruples as to the regularity of the call which was now made upon him, and with a conscientiousness and feeling of delicacy which became his

religious professions, expressed a fear that his coming forward as a preacher, on the summons of only two or three individuals, might be deemed an intrusion into the sacred office of the ministry.

Bent on their object, however, the three persons above named, without Knox's knowledge, consulted with the members of the church in which Rough preached, and the result was the fixing of a certain day when Knox should, in the name and in the face of the whole congregation, be called upon by the mouth of their preacher to accept the office of the ministry. On the day appointed, and while Knox was yet wholly unaware of what was to take place, Rough, after preaching a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he maintained the right of a congregation, however small its numbers, to elect its own pastor; and he farther maintained, that it was sinful to refuse to obey such a call when made: then suddenly turning to Knox—"Brother," he said, "you shall not be offended although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this,—In the name of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you." Turning now to the congregation, "Was not this your charge unto me?" he said, "and do ye not approve this vocation?"—"It was, and we approve it," was the reply. Deeply impressed with the circumstance, Knox made an attempt to address the audience, but his feelings overcame him; he burst into tears, and rushed out of the church. Though not without the hesitation and the doubts and fears of an ingenuous and religious mind, Knox accepted the charge thus solemnly and strikingly imposed upon him, and on an appointed day appeared in the pulpit. On this occasion, a highly interesting one, as being the first public appearance of the great reformer as a preacher of the gospel, he gave out the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel, a choice which shows the great changes which he already anticipated in the religious establishments of the land, and the confidence with which he looked forward to the result of the contest now begun with the church of Rome. The sermon which he preached on this occasion subjected him to the high displeasure of the church dignitaries; he and Rough were summoned before a convention of learned men to answer for the heretical doctrines which they entertained and promulgated. In the controversy which took place in this assembly between Knox and the person appointed to dispute with him, a grey friar of the name of Arbukill, on the various points at issue, the former so utterly discomfited his opponent, and so strongly established his own positions, that the Romish clergy, resigning all hopes of maintaining their ground, either by scriptural appeals, or by force of reasoning, carefully avoided for the future all such exhibitions of public disputation. The castle of St Andrews, in which Knox still found refuge, was soon after this, June, 1547, besieged by a French fleet, which had been despatched from France to assist the governor in its reduction; and after a stout resistance of several weeks' duration, the garrison was compelled to capitulate, and all within it were made prisoners of war. Knox and all the others who were taken with him were carried on board the French ships, which soon afterwards proceeded with them to France. On their arrival there the greater part of them were distributed throughout different prisons; but Knox, with two or three others, were detained on board the galleys in the Loire during the whole of the succeeding winter. His confinement

on ship-board altogether extended to nineteen months. At the end of that long period his liberation took place; but how it was effected is not certainly known.

On obtaining his liberty, Knox immediately proceeded to England, where the Reformation was making considerable progress, under the auspices of archbishop Cranmer, and other powerful persons in that kingdom. Knox's reputation as a preacher and zealous reformer was already well known to Cranmer and his colleagues, who were not long in finding him suitable employment. He was despatched by the privy council to Berwick to preach the reformed doctrines, and was allowed a salary for his maintenance. Here he remained for two years, daily strengthening the great cause in which he was embarked, and weakening that of its opponents. During this period too, great numbers were converted by his powerful reasoning and impressive eloquence; nor were the good effects of his ministry confined to the effecting a beneficial change in the religious sentiments of his hearers; their morals and manners were also greatly improved by the force of his example, and the striking truths exhibited in his precepts. While in Berwick, Knox was involved in another controversy or public disputation similar to that in which he had been engaged in St Andrews. The scene on this occasion was Newcastle, whither he had been summoned by the bishop of Durham to appear before an assembly of the learned men of his cathedral, to discuss the doctrines which he taught. These Knox defended with his usual ability, and with his usual success. He retired triumphant from the debate, leaving his opponents silenced and confounded by the ingenuity and strength of his arguments, and the fervour and energy of his eloquence.

His reputation was now daily spreading wider and wider, and so highly did the privy council appreciate the value of his services, that they conferred on him in December, 1551, a singular mark of their approbation, by appointing him one of the king's chaplains. While residing in Berwick, Knox formed an acquaintance with a young lady of the name of Marjory Bowes. This lady afterwards became his wife, but without the consent of her father, who could never be induced to approve of the connexion. He, however, had a warm friend in the young lady's mother, who not only gave her sanction to the marriage of her daughter, but used every effort, though without effect, to reconcile her husband to the event. Family pride, together with some differences of opinion in religious matters, are supposed to have been the cause of Mr Bowes's objection to accept the reformer as a son-in-law. As a natural result, the malevolence of Knox's enemies, those who adhered to popery, kept pace with the success which attended his efforts against the Romish church. They narrowly watched his every word and action, and at length laying hold of some expressions of a political nature which they conceived might be employed to his prejudice, they denounced him to the privy council. In consequence of this charge, which was supported by the duke of Northumberland, who entertained a personal dislike to Knox, he was summoned up to London. The result, however, was in the highest degree favourable to him. He not only convinced the council of the uprightness of his intentions and the malice of his accusers, but succeeded in gaining a yet greater degree of favour with that body than he had before enjoyed. He was appointed to preach to the court, and gave such satisfaction in the discharge of this duty, that the privy council determined to invite him to preach in London and the southern counties during the following year. They offered him the living of All Hallows in the city. He, however, declined the appointment, as also that of a bishopric, which was soon afterwards tendered him at the special request of the king, by whom he was much esteemed. These splendid offers of promotion he refused for conscience' sake,—there being several

things connected with the English ecclesiastical establishment repugnant to the faith which he had adopted ; such as the reading of homilies, the chanting of matins and even-song, the prevalence of pluralities, &c.

In the mean time, the king, Edward VI. who had evinced so much readiness to patronize our reformer, died, and was succeeded by one of the most sanguinary and relentless enemies which the reformed religion had, during any period, to contend with. This was Mary. The accession of this princess to the throne totally altered Knox's situation and his views. Her bigotry and persecution soon made England unsafe for him to live in.

Finding his danger becoming daily more and more imminent, he at length came to the resolution, though not without much reluctance, of retiring to the continent ; and making choice of France, proceeded to Dieppe in that kingdom in the year 1554. Here he remained till the latter end of the following year, occasionally visiting Geneva, then the residence of the celebrated Calvin, with whom he formed a close intimacy. At the latter end of the autumn of 1555, Knox returned to Scotland, induced by the temporary favour which the queen dowager, Mary of Lorraine, had extended to the protestants in her dominions. As this favour, however, did not proceed from any feeling of regard for those who had adopted the new faith, but was employed as a means of checking the clergy who had been averse to the dowager's obtaining the regency of the kingdom, it was of short duration, and lasted only so long as that princess thought it necessary to her interests. In the mean time, Knox was zealously and industriously employed in disseminating the doctrines of the reformed religion. He went from place to place preaching the gospel, and gradually increasing the number of his disciples, amongst whom he was soon able to reckon some of the first persons in the kingdom. While thus employed, he received an invitation from an English congregation at Geneva to become their pastor. With this invitation he thought it his duty to comply, and accordingly proceeded thither in the month of July, 1556. He was on this occasion accompanied by his wife and mother-in-law, the husband of the latter being now dead. On learning that he had left Scotland, the clergy there proceeded to evince those feelings regarding him which they had not dared to avow, or at least to act upon, while he was present. Knowing that he could not appear, they summoned him before them, passed sentence against him in absence, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation. The first part of the sentence they made a show of carrying into effect, by causing his effigy to be burned at the cross of Edinburgh. On reaching Geneva, he immediately took charge of his congregation, and spent the two following years in promoting their spiritual interests. This was perhaps the happiest period of Knox's life. He lived upon the most affectionate footing with the members of his church, by all of whom he was greatly beloved. He enjoyed the society and friendship of Calvin, and the other ministers of the city ; and to complete his felicity, he lived in the bosom of his own family, a happiness of which he had hitherto had but a small share. No degree of enjoyment, however, or of earthly felicity, could wean him from the desire of promoting the Reformation in his native country ; to this he continued to look forward with unabated eagerness, and only waited for more favourable times to gratify this ruling passion of his life.

When he had been about two years in Geneva, the long-cherished wishes of our reformer to exercise his ministry in his native land, seemed about to be realized. Two persons, citizens of Edinburgh, the one named James Syme, the other James Barron, arrived in Geneva with a letter signed by the earl of Glencairn, the lords Lorn and Erskine, and lord James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V., and afterwards earl of Murray, inviting him to return to Scotland.

Knox immediately obeyed the call, and had proceeded as far as Dieppe on his way to Scotland, when he received letters from the latter country containing the most discouraging accounts of the state of the kingdom and of the protestant interest there. Grieved and disappointed beyond expression, he again returned to Geneva, where he remained for another year. During this period he assisted in making a new translation of the Bible into English, and also published his "Letter to the Queen Regent," his "Appellation and Exhortation," and "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women." Matters having at length taken a more favourable turn in Scotland, the protestant lords sent a second invitation to Knox to join them, accompanied by the gratifying intelligence that the queen-regent had promised them her countenance and protection. He placed little reliance on these promises, but he readily obeyed the call of his friends to return to his native country.

He sailed from Dieppe on the 22nd of April, and arrived safely in Leith on the 2nd of May, 1559. The distrust which Knox entertained of the good faith of the queen-regent was not without sufficient cause. By the time he arrived, that artful but able princess, conceiving that she had no longer any occasion for assistance from the protestants, not only gave them to understand that they had nothing more to hope from her, but openly avowed her determination to suppress the Reformation by every means in her power, and to employ force for that purpose if it should be found necessary.

In this spirit she authorized archbishop Hamilton to summon the reformed preachers before him in St Andrews to answer for their conduct, giving him at the same time, a similar assurance of protection and support with that which she had a short while before given to the protestants. A threat, however, having been conveyed to her that the preachers would not go unattended to the impending trial, she deemed it prudent to prorogue it until she should be in a better state of preparation, and accordingly wrote to the primate to delay any further proceedings in the matter for the time. On the faith of receiving assistance from France, which had united with Spain for the extirpation of heresy, she soon after resumed the process against the protestant preachers, and summoned them to stand trial at Stirling. Thither Knox, though he had been proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel, by virtue of the sentence formerly pronounced against him, determined to repair to assist his brethren in their defence, and to share the dangers to which they might be exposed.

The artifice of the queen-regent, however, deprived him of the opportunity of carrying this generous resolution into effect. The preachers in their progress to Stirling, were attended by large bodies of people, who had determined to abide by them during the impending trial. Unwilling, however, to give the queen-regent any offence by approaching her in such numbers, they halted at Perth, and sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling to assure her that they meditated no violence nor entertained any but the most peaceable intentions. Not reconciled, however, by this representation to the approach of so great a multitude, she had recourse to dissimulation to prevent their coming nearer. She informed Erskine, that she would stop the trial, if he would prevail upon his brethren to desist from their journey. Unsuspicious of the deception she intended to practise, Erskine was persuaded to write to the assembled protestants, requesting them to proceed no further, and intimating that he was authorized by the queen to promise them that no trial of their preachers should take place. Rejoiced by these very welcome and very unexpected overtures, they instantly complied with the regent's request, and the greater part of them returned to their homes. When the appointed day of trial came, however, the summonses of the preachers were called in court by the express orders of the queen. They

were outlawed for non-appearance, and all persons prohibited under pain of rebellion from harbouring or assisting them. When this infamous proceeding took place, Knox was with the rest of his brethren at Perth, where he had preached a sermon against idolatry and the celebration of mass, on the very day on which intelligence reached that place of what had occurred at Stirling.

On the conclusion of the sermon, a priest who was present had the impudence to uncover an altar-piece on which were some images, and prepared to celebrate mass, regardless of the excited state of the public feeling, which had just been roused by the eloquence of Knox, and armed, as it were, for violence by the duplicity of the regent. Under these circumstances little was required to bring on a crisis, and that little was not long wanting. A boy having uttered some disrespectful expressions, was instantly struck by the hot-headed priest. The boy retaliated by throwing a stone, which, missing his assailant, for whom it was intended, struck the altar and broke one of the images. This fired the train. In an instant all the interior decorations of the church were torn down and destroyed, altar and images were overturned and trampled under foot; a mob collected outside, but finding the work of destruction already completed here, they proceeded to the monasteries, which they in a short time laid in ruins. This was the first ebullition of popular feeling connected with the Reformation, and Knox has been accused of having been the cause of it. If he was, he certainly was so unconsciously and innocently, for he reprobated the violence which had taken place, and in speaking of it, says it was perpetrated by "the rascal multitude,"—language sufficiently indicative of the light in which he viewed it. The protestant lords, finding now that they had not only nothing more to hope for from the queen, but that she was their declared enemy, determined to make a vigorous effort to establish the reformed religion without either her assistance or consent. They proceeded to ascertain the numbers of their friends, established a correspondence with them, and united the whole by procuring their subscriptions to a religious covenant, copies of which they despatched for that purpose to different districts throughout the country. These thus united were distinguished by the name of *The Congregation*, and the noblemen who were included by that of the *Lords of the Congregation*. The latter, still desirous of accomplishing their purpose rather by the force of reasoning than by the sword, engaged Knox to meet them on a certain day at St Andrews, where they proposed he should deliver a series of sermons. On his way to St Andrews he preached at Anstruther and Crail, and arrived at the first named place on the 9th of June.

Here occurred a striking instance of that personal intrepidity for which the great reformer was so remarkable. The archbishop, informed of his design to preach in his cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent word to Knox, that if he appeared in the pulpit, he would order the soldiers to fire upon him. Alarmed for his safety, Knox's friends endeavoured to dissuade him from preaching, but in vain. "He could take God to witness," he said, "that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting an earthly creature; but to delay to preach next day, unless forcibly hindered, he could not in conscience agree. As for the fear of danger that may come to me," he continued, "let no man be solicitous, for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me." Knox accordingly appeared in the pulpit at the appointed time, and preached to a numerous assembly, without experiencing any interruption; but although the threatened attempt upon his life was not made, he retains a full claim to all the courage which a contempt and defiance of that threat implies.

On this occasion he preached for three successive days; and such was the ef-

fect of his eloquence and the influence of his doctrine, that both the inhabitants and the civil authorities agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town. The monasteries were demolished and the church stripped of all images and pictures. The example of St Andrews was soon after followed in many other parts of the kingdom. At the latter end of the month, Knox arrived with the forces of the Congregation in Edinburgh, and on the same day on which he entered the city, he preached in St Giles's, next day in the Abbey church, and on the 7th of July, the inhabitants met in the tolbooth, and appointed him their minister, there being then only one place of worship in Edinburgh, viz. St Giles's church. In this charge, however, he was not long permitted to remain. The forces of the regent soon after obtained possession of the city; and, although against his own inclination, his friends prevailed upon him to retire from the town. On leaving Edinburgh, he undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom; and in less than two months had gone over the greater part of it, disseminating with the most powerful effect the doctrines of the reformed religion. He next retired to St Andrews, where he officiated as minister for several months; and on the conclusion of the civil war, which the determination of the Congregation to establish the reformed religion and the regent's efforts to suppress it, had created, he returned to Edinburgh. In 1560, after an arduous struggle and many vicissitudes, the faith for which Knox had fought such a "good fight," seemed to be securely established in the land. The queen-regent was dead, and by the assistance of England, an assistance which Knox had been the chief instrument in procuring, the arms of the forces of the Congregation were completely triumphant.

The accession, however, of Mary, who was known to be strongly attached to popery, to the actual government, again excited the fears of the protestants, and of no one more than Knox, who insisted that the invitation sent to France to that princess to ascend the throne of her ancestors should be accompanied by the stipulation, that she should desist from the celebration of mass; and when the rest of the council urged that she ought to be allowed that liberty within her own chapel, he predicted that "her liberty would be their thralldom."

A few days after the queen's arrival at Holyrood she sent for Knox, and taxed him with holding political opinions at once dangerous to her authority and the peace of her realm, and with teaching a religion different from that allowed by its princes. Knox entered at great length into these subjects, defending himself and his doctrines with his usual ability and boldness. His language, at no time very courtly, is said to have been so harsh in some instances on this occasion as to drive the young queen to tears; but whether this, if true, ought to be considered as a proof of the severity of his expressions, or of the queen's irritability of temper, is questionable, since it is probable that she may have wept without sufficient cause. The arrival of the dinner hour broke off this interesting interview, and Knox retired from the presence with some expressions of good wishes for the queen's happiness. Frequent conferences of a similar nature with this took place afterwards between the reformer and Mary, but with little increase of regard on either side. On one of these occasions, when he had spoken with even more than his usual boldness, and just as he was about to retire, he overheard some of the queen's popish attendants say, "He is not afraid."—"Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman frighten me?" replied the stout reformer, turning round upon them; "I have looked in the faces of many angry *men*, and yet have not been afraid beyond measure." Knox's ministerial duties were in the mean time exceedingly laborious. His charge, as already mentioned, was St Giles's church, where he had discharged these duties since the year 1560. He preached twice every Sabbath, and thrice on other

days of the week, besides meeting regularly with his kirk-session once every week for discipline, and with others for exercises on the Scriptures. Besides all this, he regularly attended all the meetings of the general assembly and the provincial synod; and at almost every meeting of the former, a mission to visit and preach in some distant part of the country was imposed upon him. With the view of relieving him of part of these overwhelming labours, the town council, in April, 1562, solicited John Craig, minister of Canongate, to undertake the half of his charge. From the difficulty, however, of obtaining an additional stipend, Knox remained without assistance till June in the following year. It has been already said that many interviews took place from time to time between the queen and Knox; these were still occasionally occurring; but their only effect was to increase her dread and dislike of the reformer; and although some instances occurred in which there was something like an approach to a better understanding, yet on the part of the queen it was never sincere; and there is little doubt that she longed for an opportunity of getting rid of so troublesome a subject, whom neither her threats nor blandishments could divert for an instant from what he conceived to be the strict path of his duty. Such an opportunity as she desired, or at least such a one as she certainly rejoiced in, seemed now unexpectedly to present itself. Two persons, protestants, were indicted to stand trial for having with several others, intruded into the palace during a temporary absence of the queen, for the purpose of interrupting the celebration of certain Roman catholic rites which was about to take place in the chapel of Holyrood. The protestants of Edinburgh, dreading that the queen would proceed to extremities against these men, requested Knox to write circular letters to the principal gentlemen of their persuasion, detailing the circumstances of the case, and inviting their presence on the day of trial.

One of these letters falling into the hands of the bishop of Ross, he immediately conveyed it to the queen, who again lost no time in laying it before her privy council, by which it was pronounced treasonable, and the writer was soon afterwards indicted to stand trial in Edinburgh for the crime of high treason. The queen presided in person at the trial, and with an ill-judged and ill-timed levity, burst into a fit of laughter, when on taking her seat in court she perceived Knox standing uncovered at the foot of the table. "That man," she said, pointing to the reformer, "had made her weep, and shed never a tear himself: she would now see if she could make him weep." The trial now proceeded, and after the charge against him had been read, Knox entered upon his defence at great length, and with such self-possession, intrepidity, and ability, that although he had several enemies amongst his judges, he was, by a great majority acquitted of the crime of which he had been accused.

Alluding to the queen's feelings on this occasion, he says in his History, "That night, (the evening after the trial) was nyther dancing nor fiddling in the court; for madame was disapoynted of hir purpose, quhilk was to have had John Knox in hir will, be vot of hir nobility." A second attempt on the part of the queen and her husband Darnley to suppress the stern and uncompromising truths, both political and religious, which the reformer continued to proclaim to the world, was soon after made. He had given out a text which gave such offence to the stripling king, that on the afternoon of the same day he was taken from his bed and carried before the privy council, who suspended him from his office. As the suspension, however, was limited to the time of their majesties residence in the city, it was but of short duration, as they left Edinburgh before the following Sabbath, when Knox resumed his ministry, and delivered his sentiments with the same boldness as before. This occurrence was soon after followed by the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary; an event which gave the

queen, now at Dunbar, a pretence for raising an army, ostensibly to enable her to resent the indignity which had been shown to her person by the assassins of Rizzio, and to punish the perpetrator of that deed, but in reality, to overawe the protestants. On the approach of the queen and her forces to Edinburgh, Knox, long since aware of the dislike which she entertained towards him, deemed it prudent to leave the city. On this occasion he retired to Kyle, and soon afterwards went to England to visit his two sons, who were there living with some relations of their mother's. Knox returned again to Edinburgh, after an absence of about five or sixth months. During that interval two events had taken place, which entirely ruined the queen's authority in the kingdom, and left him nothing to fear from her personal resentment; these were the murder of Darnley and her marriage with Bothwell. He therefore resumed his charge without interruption, and proceeded to take that active part in the national affairs, both political and religious, which the times required, and for which he was so eminently fitted; and, soon after, had the satisfaction of seeing the protestant religion securely established by the laws of the land, and that of the popish church utterly overthrown by the same authority.

In the month of October, 1570, he was struck with apoplexy, and although it only interrupted his preaching for a few days, he never recovered from the debility which it produced.

The irritability of the times, and the vindictive spirit of the popish faction, still animating its expiring efforts, placed the life of the great reformer once more in danger, and once more compelled him to seek safety in flight. His enemies endeavoured first to destroy his reputation by the most absurd and unfounded calumnies; and failing utterly in these, they made an attempt upon his life. A shot was fired in at the window at which he usually sat; but happening to be seated at a different part of the table from that which he generally occupied, the bullet missed him, but struck the candlestick which was before him, and then lodged in the roof of the apartment.

Finding that it was no longer safe for him to remain in Edinburgh, he retired to St Andrews, where he continued till the end of August, 1572, when he again returned to Edinburgh. His valuable and active life was now drawing fast to a close. On the 11th of the November following he was seized with a cough, which greatly affected his breathing, and on the 24th of the same month expired, after an illness which called forth numerous instances of the magnanimity of his character, and of the purity and fervour of that religious zeal by which he had been always inspired. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, "not so much," says Dr M'Crie, "oppressed with years as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind." His body was interred in the church-yard of St Giles, on Wednesday the 26th of November, and was attended to the grave by all the nobility who were in the city, and an immense concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the regent, who was also at the funeral, exclaimed in words which have made a strong impression from their aptness and truth, "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

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LAING, ALEXANDER GORDON, whose name is so mournfully connected with the history of African discovery, was born at Edinburgh on the 27th of De-

cember, 1793. His father, William Laing, A.M., was the first who opened an academy for classical education in the new town of the Scottish capital; where he laboured for thirty-two years, and was one of the most popular teachers of his day. His maternal grand-father, William Gordon, was also a teacher of very considerable note, and is known in the schools as the author of a system of geography, a treatise on arithmetic, a translation of the first six books of Livy, &c.

With such a parentage it might naturally have been supposed, that the subject of this memoir was more likely to have spent his days amid the quiet pursuits of literature, than in the bustle of the camp, and amid the din of arms; the appearances of his early years seemed to favour the supposition. Under the tuition of his father, young Laing received the elementary education that was necessary to prepare him for the university, and he was enrolled in the Humanity class at the early age of thirteen years. Previous to this he had acquired a very considerable knowledge of the Latin language, of which he was passionately fond; and the appearances he made in the class then taught by professor Christison, were of so marked a kind as to secure him the very flattering notice of his preceptor; he was held up as a model for the imitation of his fellow students, and there were but few who could entertain any hope of excelling him.

At the age of fifteen Mr Laing entered on the business of active life, having engaged himself as assistant to Mr Bruce, a teacher in Newcastle. In this situation he remained only six months, when he returned to Edinburgh, and entered into company with his father, taking charge of the commercial department of the academy, for which his beautiful penmanship and other acquirements singularly qualified him.

But the time was fast approaching when the subject of our memoir was to exchange the *ferula* for the *sword*. In 1809, volunteering was very general in Edinburgh, and young Laing attached himself to a corps then forming. In 1810, he was made an ensign in the prince of Wales' volunteers, and from that period the academy had no more charms for him. In his eighteenth year he abandoned the irksome duties of teaching, and set off for Barbadoes to his maternal uncle, then colonel, now lieutenant-general Gordon, through whose kind offices he looked forward to an introduction into the army. At that time colonel Gordon held the office of deputy quarter-master-general in Barbadoes, and on his nephew's arrival he gave him a situation as clerk in his counting house. In this situation Mr Laing repeatedly came in contact with Sir George Beckwith, then at the head of the command of the military on the station, who was so much pleased with the young clerk, and took so deep an interest in his fortunes, as to secure for him unsolicited an ensign's commission in the York light infantry.

But we must hurry over the first years of Laing's service in the army, in order that we may have space to detail the more important passages in his history. Having obtained the ensigncy in the York light infantry, he immediately joined his regiment in Antigua; in two years he was made a lieutenant, and shortly after, on the reduction of the regiment, he was put on half-pay. Dissatisfied with the inactivity consequent on such a measure, as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made, he exchanged into the 2nd West India regiment, and proceeded to Jamaica. Here over exertion in consequence of his discharging the duties of quarter-master-general caused him to suffer much from disease on the liver. He retired to Honduras for the recovery of his health, where colonel Arthur, appreciating his excellence as an officer, detained him with another division of the regiment, and appointed him fort major. His distemper, however, which at first seemed to yield in Honduras, returned with increasing violence, and compelled him to seek relief in the air of his native land and the sympathies of his relations.

During the eighteen months he remained at home, the division of the 2nd West India regiment to which he belonged, was reduced, and he was again put on half-pay. Restored, however, to health, he could not remain inactive. Towards the end of 1819, he went to London, was sent for by the colonel of his regiment, the late Sir Henry Torrence, received many flattering compliments for his former services, and having been appointed lieutenant and adjutant, he proceeded to Sierra Leone.

From the beginning of the year 1822 his history as an *African traveller* may properly be dated. In January of that year he was despatched by Sir Charles M'Carthy, governor of Sierra Leone, on an important embassy to Kambia and the Mandingo country, where he collected much valuable information regarding the political condition of these districts, their dispositions as to commerce, and their sentiments as to slavery. Having so far achieved the object for which he set out, he crossed to Malacouri, a Mandingo town, situated on the banks of the river Malageea. There he learned that Sannasee, the chief of the district of Malageea, and a friend of the British government, had been captured by Amara, the king of the Soolimas, and was about to be put to death. Well knowing the unrelenting disposition of Amara, Laing, although labouring under a severe attack of fever and ague, resolved to go to the Soolima camp, and intercede for the life of the unfortunate Sannasee.

With this view he crossed the Malageea near its source, and after experiencing many difficulties in meeting with Soolima guards, he at length reached the camp. Having witnessed the feats of warlike exercise, the dancing, and the music exhibited by Soolimas, Bennas, Sangaras, and Tambaccas, he was invited to a *palaver* with Yarradee, the general of the Soolima army. This officer received him with much kindness, and with many protestations of friendship. Subsequently he was introduced to, and had a conversation with Amara himself, and having obtained an assurance that Sannasee would not be put to death, he retired to Sierra Leone, where he arrived on the 6th day, exhausted by the fatigues of his journey and continued illness.

Scarcely had Laing recovered, when a report at Sierra Leone that his mission had been of no avail, induced the governor to send him on another embassy for the same object. Having once more visited the Soolima camp, he was assured indeed that Sannasee had been set at liberty, but he also learned that his town had been burned, and his property plundered or destroyed. Of this conduct he expressed in the name of his government the most decided reprobation; and after a journey of six and a half days, during which he had never for a single hour been under shelter, he once more reached Sierra Leone.

It was now that lieutenant Laing assumed the character of a *volunteer traveller*. Having been led to believe during the last embassy that the Soolimas were in possession of considerable quantities of gold and ivory, he suggested to the governor the propriety and probable advantages of the colony opening up a commercial intercourse with them; and the suggestion having been approved of by the council at large, he left Sierra Leone again on the 16th of April, 1822, with the view of furthering such an object, accompanied by two soldiers of the 2nd West India regiment, a native of Foutah Jallow, eleven carriers, natives of the Jolof district, and a boy a native of Sego.

When he set out upon this journey little was known of the Soolimas except the name; they were said to be distant from Sierra Leone four hundred miles to the eastward: it afterwards appeared that Falaba, the capital, is only distant two hundred miles. They were represented as a powerful nation, rich in gold and ivory; but this also turned out not to be the fact.

On his arrival at Toma in the country of the Timmanees, our traveller found

that no white man had ever been there before him, although the town is situated only sixty miles from Sierra Leone. His appearance, as was to be expected, excited no little astonishment—one woman, in particular, stood fixed like a statue gazing on the party as they entered the town, and did not stir a muscle till the whole had passed, when she gave a loud halloo of astonishment, and then covered her mouth with both her hands. Of the Timmanees he writes in his journal very unfavourably; he found them depraved, indolent, avaricious, and so deeply sunk in the debasement of the slave traffic, that the very mothers among them raised a clamour against him for refusing to buy their children. He further accuses them of dishonesty and gross indecency, and altogether wonders that a country so near Sierra Leone, should have gained so little by its proximity to a British settlement.

From the country of the Timmanees lieutenant Laing proceeded into that of Kooranko, the first view of which was much more promising—he found the first town into which he entered neat and clean, and the inhabitants bearing all the marks of active industry. It was about sunset when he approached it, and we give in his own language a description of the scene. “Some of the people,” says he, “had been engaged in preparing the fields for the crops, others were penning up a few cattle, whose sleek sides denoted the richness of their pasturages; the last clink of the blacksmith’s hammer was sounding, the weaver was measuring the cloth he had woven during the day, and the guarange, a worker in leather, was tying up his neatly stained pouches, shoes, and knife-sheaths; while the crier at the mosques, with the melancholy call of ‘Allah Akbar,’ summoned the decorous Moslems to their evening devotions.” Such were our traveller’s first impressions of the Koorankoes; but their subsequent conduct did not confirm the good opinion he had formed of them.

On approaching the hilly country, lieutenant Laing informs us that nothing could be more beautiful or animating than the scene presented to his view,—well clothed rising grounds, cultivated valleys, and meadows smiling with verdure; the people in the different towns were contented and good-humoured, and, in general, received the stranger with very great kindness. In illustration of this he has given us the burden of the song of one of their minstrels:—“The white man lived on the waters and ate nothing but fish, which made him so thin; but the black men will give him cows and sheep to eat, and milk to drink, and then he will grow fat.”

At Komato, the last town of the Koorankoes, on his route, our traveller found a messenger from the king of Soolimana, with horses and carriages to convey him to Falaba, the capital of that nation. Crossing the Rokelle river, about a hundred yards broad, by ropes of twigs suspended from the branches of two immense trees, (a suspension bridge called by the natives Nyankata,) he proceeded to that city; and having been joined by the king’s son at the last town upon this side of it, he entered Falaba under a salute of musketry from 2000 men, who were drawn up in the centre of the town to receive him.

Not long after reaching Falaba, lieutenant, now captain Laing (for about this time he was promoted,) was seized with a fever which brought on delirium for several days. While in this state he was cupped by one of the Soolima doctors, and that so effectually as to satisfy him that it was the means of saving his life. The operation differed in no respect from ours, except that the skin was scarified by a razor, and the cup was a small calabash gourd.

Our traveller enters, in his journal, into a long detail of the habits and manners of the Soolimas, with which he had made himself fully acquainted during his three months’ residence in Falaba. To give even a short abstract of this, would be inconsistent with the limits assigned to this memoir. Suffice it to say,

that the main object of his mission failed. The king all along promised to send back with him a company of traders; but when the time of departure arrived, these promises ended in nought. Although within three days' journey of the source of the Niger, he was not permitted to visit that often sought spot, and deep was the grief which the loss of such an opportunity cost him; by measuring, however, the height of the source of the Rokelle, which he found to be 1441 feet, and by taking into account the height of the mountains in the distance, which gave rise to the Niger, he calculated, (as he himself thought,) with a tolerable degree of accuracy, that that river which has had so much importance assigned to it, has an elevation at its source of from 1500 to 1600 feet above the level of the Atlantic. We cannot resist quoting here the testimony of an eminent writer in the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural and Geographical Science*, (June, 1830,) more especially as the measurements of captain Laing have been rather lightly spoken of in the *Quarterly Review*, (we believe by Mr Barrow :) "Major Laing," says the *Edinburgh Journalist*, "assigned the position and the elevation above the sea of Mount Loma, from whence the Niger takes its origin: and he first traced on the map the first part of its course towards the north for an extent of about twenty-five leagues."

On the 17th of September our traveller quitted Falaba, accompanied by numbers of the natives, who escorted him to a considerable distance, the last to leave him was the king himself. Of his "adieu" the captain speaks in the most affecting terms. On returning, the route of the party was nearly the same as that by which they set out. The conclusion of the journey we give, in the traveller's own words, in a note.¹

Before our traveller's return, hostilities had commenced between the British government and the king of the Ashantees—the consequence was, that no sooner had he tasted the comforts of a British settlement, than he was ordered to join his regiment on the Gold coast without delay. Having transmitted details to his friend, captain Sabine in London, of the geographical determinations of the latitude, longitude, and elevation of the places he had lately visited, he hastened to obey the order he had received. On his arrival on the Gold coast he was employed in the organization and command of a very considerable native force, designed to be auxiliary to a small British detachment which was then expected from Britain. During the greater part of the year 1823, this native force was stationed on the frontier of the Fantee and Ashantee countries, and was frequently engaged, and always successfully, with detachments of the Ashantee army. On one of these occasions the enemy was completely beaten, and the fame of the victory spread over the whole coasts; in so much, and so effectually, that Sir Charles M'Carthy received the allegiance of most of the Fantee tribes. On another occasion captain Laing made two gallant and successful attacks on a larger division of the enemy; and entering into the territories of the king of Aju-

¹ "We left Ma Koota at six A. M., and after a fatiguing march of twenty-five miles over a vile Timmanee path, we reached Rokon at four P. M., where I rejoined my party, which had arrived a few hours before. At six I embarked in a canoe, with an intention of pushing direct for Sierra Leone, but perceiving a small boat at anchor off the small town of Maherre, I went on shore, and in a few minutes had the gratification of shaking hands with Senoi Alavilla, Portuguese commissary judge at Sierra Leone, and captain Stepney of the 2nd West India regiment, who, on hearing of my approach had gone so far on the way to meet me. About midnight we were joined by Mr Kenneth Macauley, when we all embarked in his barge; and proceeding down the river, arrived at Tombo to breakfast, where I *deprived myself of the decoration of my face, now of seven months' growth*, and by the help of some borrowed garments effected an alteration in my appearance which was very requisite. Leaving Tombo after breakfast, we proceeded down the Rokelle, on a fine calm morning, and at two P. M. I had the satisfaction of being welcomed by my friends at Sierra Leone, so many of whom, so much esteemed and so highly valued, are now no more."

macon, who was suspected to be friendly to the Ashantees, he compelled that prince to place his troops under the British command.

On the fall of Sir Charles M'Carthy, which took place in 1824, lieutenant-colonel Chisholm, on whom the command of the Gold coast devolved, sent the subject of our memoir to England, to acquaint government more fully than could otherwise be done, of the state of the country, and the circumstances of the war. He arrived in England in August, and immediately afterwards obtained a leave of absence to visit Scotland for the recovery of his health, which had been seriously affected by so many months of constant and extreme exposure in Africa. In Scotland, however, he did not continue long. In October he returned to London, and an opportunity having unexpectedly presented itself to him, of proceeding under lord Bathurst's auspices, in the discovery of the course and termination of the Niger, an opportunity which he had long and anxiously desired, he gladly embraced it. It being arranged, that he should accompany the caravan from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, in the ensuing summer, it became necessary that he should depart early in the year from that father land, which, alas! he was destined never to revisit.

Our traveller, now promoted to a majority, left London for Tripoli, in the month of February, 1825. While in the latter city he had occasion to have frequent intercourse with the British consul, Mr Warrington; a close intimacy was formed between them, and the bond was strengthened by the major's marrying Emma Maria, the daughter of the consul. This event was celebrated on the 14th of July, 1825; and two days after the marriage the major proceeded on his pilgrimage to Timbuctoo.

He left Tripoli in company with the sheik Babani, whom he afterwards discovered to be no less a personage than the governor of Ghadamis. The sheik engaged to conduct him to Timbuctoo in ten weeks; the wife and the family of Babani resided there. The travellers proceeded with their *koffila* by the route of Beneoleed, the passage by the Gharan mountains being rendered unsafe, in consequence of the turbulence of a rebellious chief in that district. On the 21st of August the party reached Shaté, and on the 13th of September, after a tedious and circuitous journey of nearly a thousand miles, they arrived at Ghadamis. Already had the major experienced much to vex and annoy him; his barometer had been broken; his hygrometers had been rendered useless by evaporation; the tubes of most of his thermometers had been snapt by the warping of the ivory; his glasses had been dimmed by the friction of the sand; his chronometer had stopped (in all likelihood from the insinuation of sandy particles); and in addition to this lengthened list of mishaps, his rifle stock had been broken by the tread of an elephant.

Our traveller left Ghadamis, where he was treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality, on the 27th of October; and on the 3rd of December he arrived at Ensala, a town on the eastern frontier of the province of Tuat, belonging to the Tuaric, and said to be thirty-five days' journey from Timbuctoo. Here as in Ghadamis, he experienced the kindest reception, and he did all he could to repay it, by administering of his medicines to the diseased.

From Ensala he wrote the last letter to his relations in Scotland, which they ever received from him. As it is a document of great interest, and, in some passages, highly characteristic of the writer, we shall present a considerable extract:

“ Ensala in Tuat, December 8, 1825.

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“ I arrived here in the afternoon of the 2nd instant; and the curiosity which my appearance among these people has excited, is not yet nearly allayed, insomuch that I am beset during

nearly the whole day with myriads of wondering spectators, who flock to the house which I inhabit, and stare at me with about as much curiosity as you would at the great lioness in Exeter Change, which whelped three young lions, and condescended to suckle them herself. The natives of this place are of the tribe called Musticarab, and live under no law or control. They do not employ themselves either in trade or cultivation, but, like a set of outlaws, roam about the desert, robbing and plundering kaffilas wherever they can fall in with them. There has been murderous work among them this year,—more than half a dozen fights of one kind or another, and between two and three hundred slain. I shall quit them, please God, in seven or eight days more, as I accompany a large kaffila, which proceeds on the 15th instant towards Timbuctoo, from which I am now only thirty days' journey. Every thing appears to favour me, and to bid fair for a speedy and successful termination to my arduous enterprise. I am already possessed of much curious and valuable information, and feel confident that I shall realize the most sanguine expectations of my numerous friends. I shall do more than has ever been done before, and shall show myself to be what I have ever considered myself, a man of enterprise and genius. My father used often to accuse me of want of common sense; but he little thought that I gloried in the accusation. 'Tis true, I never possessed any, nor ever shall. At a very early age, I fell in with an observation of Helvetius, which pleased me much, and chimed in with my way of thinking to the tenth part of a second. 'A man of common sense is a man in whose character indolence predominates: he is not endowed with activity of soul, which, in high stations, leads great minds to discover new springs by which they may set the world in motion, or to sow the seeds, from the growth of which they are enabled to produce future events.' I admit that common sense is more necessary for conducting the petty affairs of life than genius or enterprise; but the man who soars into the regions of speculation should never be hampered by it. Had I been gifted with that quality which the bulk of mankind consider so inestimable, I might now have been a jolly subaltern on half-pay, or perhaps an orthodox preacher in some country kirk, in lieu of dictating this letter to you from the arid regions of central Africa. This is a long rhapsody, but you must just bear with it patiently, as it is not every day that you can hear from me.

"I hope you have written to my dearest Emma, the most amiable girl that God ever created. She is, indeed, such a being as I had formed in my mind's eyes but had never before seen, and has just as much common sense as has fallen to the lot of your most worthy elder brother." * * *

He quitted Ensala on the 10th of January, 1826, and on the 26th of the same month entered on the cheerless, flat, and sandy desert of Tenezaroff. Hitherto neither his enthusiasm nor his health had failed him; the people had all been friendly and kind to him, the elements only had been his foes; but in the desert he was to enter on a different course of experience, and bitter assuredly it was. The Tuarics attacked, and plundered, and most cruelly mangled him. The following letter, written by himself, and addressed to his father-in-law, discloses the amount of authentic information concerning this barbarous outrage.

Blad Sidi Mahomed, May 10th, 1826.

My Dear Consul,—

I drop you a line only by an uncertain conveyance, to acquaint you that I am recovering from my severe wounds far beyond any calculation that the most sanguine expectation could have formed; and that to-morrow, please God, I leave this place for Timbuctoo, which I hope to reach on the 18th. I have suffered much, but the detail must be reserved till another period, when I shall "a tale unfold" of treachery and woe that will surprise you. Some imputation is attachable to the old sheik (Babani); but as he is now no more, I shall not accuse him; he died very suddenly about a month since.

When I write from Timbuctoo, I shall detail precisely how I was betrayed, and nearly murdered in my sleep. In the mean time, I shall acquaint you with the number and nature of my wounds, in all amounting to twenty-four; eighteen of which are exceedingly severe. I have five sabre cuts on the crown of the head, and three on the left temple; all fractures, from which much bone has come away. One on my left cheek, which fractured the jaw-bone, and has divided the ear, forming a very unsightly wound. One over the right temple, and a dreadful gash on the back of the neck, which slightly scratched the *windpipe*,* &c. I am, nevertheless, as already I have said, doing well, and hope yet to return to England with much important geographical information. The map indeed requires much correction, and please God, I shall yet do much in addition to what I have already done towards putting it right.

It would appear from this letter, that the major intended on the day after he wrote it, to set out for Timbuctoo. The intention, however, was frustrated. The illness, and subsequent death of Sidi Mahomed Mooktar, the marabout and sheik of the place, together with a severe attack of fever in his own person, detained him for two months longer. By this distemper he lost also his favourite servant *Jack*, to whom he was much attached. We can easily enter into his feelings when, writing again on the 1st of July to his father-in-law, he concludes the epistle by saying, "I am now the only surviving member of the mission."

On the 18th of August he arrived at Timbuctoo, and from the following letter, which he left behind him there, which was afterwards forwarded to Tripoli by the nephew of Babani, and is the last that any of his relations ever received from him, we learn only enough to deepen our regret that he should have perished in the hour of success, and that his valuable papers should have been lost to the world.

"Timbuctoo,† September 21, 1826.

"My Dear Consul:—A very short epistle must serve to apprise you, as well as my dearest Emma, of my arrival at and departure from the great capital of central Africa; the former of which events took place on the 18th ultime, the latter, please God, will take place at an early hour to-morrow morning. I have abandoned all thoughts of retracing my steps to Tripoli, and came here with an intention of preceeding to Jemie by water; but this intention has been entirely upset, and my situation in Timbuctoo rendered exceedingly unsafe by the unfriendly dispositions of the Foulahs of Massina, who have this year upset the dominion of the Tuaric, and made themselves patrons of Timbuctoo, and whose sultan, Bello, has expressed his hostility to me in no unequivocal terms, in a letter which Al Saidi Boubokar, the sheik of this town received from him a few days after my arrival. He has now got intelligence of my arrival in Timbuctoo, and as a party of Foulahs are hourly expected, Al Saidi Boubokar, who is an excellent good man, and who trembles for my safety, has strongly urged my immediate departure. And I am sorry to say, that the notice has been so short, and I have so much to do previous to going away, that this is the only communication I shall for the present be able to make. My destination is Sege, whither I hope to arrive in fifteen days; but I regret to say that the road is a vile one, and my perils are not yet at an end; but my trust is God, who has hitherto borne me up amidst the severest trials, and protected me amidst the numerous dangers to which I have been exposed.

"I have no time to give you any account of Timbuctoo, but shall briefly state, that in every respect, except in size, (which does not exceed four miles in circumference), it has completely met my expectations. Kabra is only five miles distant, and is a neat town situated on the margin of the river. I have been busily employed during my stay, searching the records in the town, which are abundant, and in acquiring information of every kind; nor is it with

* It should be the *Spine*.

† In this letter the major always spells the name of the capital *Timbucti*

any common degree of satisfaction that I say my perseverance has been amply rewarded. I am now convinced that my hypothesis concerning the termination of the Niger is correct.

"May God bless you all! I shall write you fully from Sego, as also my lord Bathurst, and I rather apprehend that both letters will reach you at one time, as none of the Ghadamis merchants leave Timbuctoo for two months to come. Again may God bless you all! My dear Emma must excuse my writing. I have begun a hundred letters to her, but have been unable to get through one. She is ever uppermost in my thoughts, and I look forward with delight to the hour of our meeting, which, please God, is now at no great distance."

The following abstract of the testimony of Bungola the major's servant, when examined by the British consul, gives the catastrophe of this melancholy story :

When asked if he had been with the major at Mooktar's, he answered, Yes.

Did you accompany him from thence to Timbuctoo? Yes.

How was he received at Timbuctoo? Well.

How long did he remain at Timbuctoo? About two months.

Did you leave Timbuctoo with major Laing? Yes.

Who went with you? A kofle of Arabs.

In what direction did you go? The sun was on my right cheek.

Did you know where you were going? To Sansanding.

Did you see any water, and were you molested? We saw no water, nor were we molested till the third day, when the Arabs of the country attacked and killed my master.

Was any one killed beside your master? I was wounded, but cannot say if any were killed.

Were you sleeping near your master? Yes.

How many wounds had your master? I cannot say, they were all with swords, and in the morning I saw the head had been cut off.

Did the person who had charge of your master commit the murder? Sheik Bourahoushi, who accompanied the reis, killed him.

What did the sheik then do? He went on to his country; an Arab took me back to Timbuctoo.

What property had your master when he was killed? Two camels; one carried the provision, the other carried my master and his bags.

Where were your master's papers? In his bag.

Were the papers brought back to Timbuctoo? I don't know.

Thus perished, a few days after the 21st of September, 1826, by the hand of an assassin, one of the most determined, enthusiastic, and thoroughly accomplished of those daring spirits who have periled their lives in the cause of African discovery. The resolution of the unfortunate Laing was of no ordinary kind; his mother has told the writer of this article, that years before he entered on his last and fatal expedition, in providing against hardships and contingencies, he had accustomed himself to sleep on the hard floor, and to write with the left hand; yea more, with the pen between the first and second toes of the right foot. It is melancholy to think that he should have perished unrequited by that fame for which he sacrificed so much, and undelivered of that tale of the capital of central Africa, which he had qualified himself so well to tell. In any circumstances the death of such a man had been lamentable; but it seems the more so, inasmuch as the result of his successful enterprise is likely for ever to be unavailing for the benefit of the living. Seven years have now elapsed since his melancholy murder, and there seems not the shadow of a hope that his papers will ever be recovered.

But we cannot conclude this memoir without adding a few sentences regarding

these important documents. Facts which were established at Tripoli during the year 1829, and established to the entire satisfaction of the consuls of Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Sardinia, develop a system of treachery and plunder regarding the major and his property, which almost amounts to the incredible. It seems to have been fully made out, that the very guide (Babani,) who set out with the traveller from Tripoli, was under the secret direction of Hassunah D' Ghies, son of the prime minister of the Tripolitan bashaw, and the conspirator against the major's life—that by his (D' Ghies') instructions the ferocious Bourabouschi, the eventual murderer, was appointed to be the conductor of the major from Timbuctoo, and that into his (D' Ghies') hands the major's papers (fourteen inches long by seven thick,) were put by another of his emissaries shortly after the murder. In short, it has been fully ascertained that this packet was secreted in Tripoli so lately as July or August, 1828.

The most amazing part of the tale of treachery yet remains to be told. It would further appear that the documents referred to were given by D' Ghies to the French consul at Tripoli, the baron de Rosseau, and that during the greater part of the major's journey this official from France had been in secret correspondence with the conspirators—that he exerted himself in securing the flight of Hassunah D' Ghies after the treachery had been discovered, and gave protection to, and tampered with his brother Mohamed, who made the disclosure.

It were out of place, in this memoir, to detail the strong chain of evidence by which these allegations are supported. A masterly summary of it will be found in the Quarterly Review, No. 84. Suffice it to say, that neither M. Rosseau nor the French government have, as yet, done any thing to acquit themselves of the fearful charge there preferred against them. Till removed, it must stand a foul blot upon their national honour.

LAING, MALCOLM, a lawyer and distinguished constitutional historian, was born in the year 1762, at Strynzia, his paternal estate, situated on the main-land of Orkney. He received the rudiments of his education at the humble but respectable grammar school of Kirkwall; a seminary which is generally attended by about a hundred boys, the sons of the neighbouring proprietors and farmers. When he had reached the proper age, he was sent to the university of Edinburgh, then superintended and attended by men of great talent. Along with many of the latter class, he joined in the establishment of the Speculative Society, an institution whose subjects of discussion were perhaps to a certain extent guided by his peculiar tastes, and certainly coincided remarkably with those in which he afterwards distinguished himself.

In 1785, he passed as a Scottish advocate: we do not know whether he had any predilection for the practice of the law, or whether he made choice of the profession, for the mere respectability of the title, and the opportunity it might afford of attracting notice as a politician; but assuredly, notwithstanding his very high talents in general, and his peculiarly great powers as a reasoner or special pleader, he never was much employed, or known as a distinguished practising barrister. It will scarcely account sufficiently for this circumstance, that the manner in which he delivered his powerful arguments was neither majestic nor pleasing, that "his speeches were uttered with an almost preternatural rapidity, and in harsh and disagreeable tones." If he could speak and compose with facility—and in parliament he was considered an able speaker—such arguments as *he* might have used did not require the extraneous assistance of *manner*, even for a jury; while almost the whole pleading in Scotland at that period was addressed to the judges, from whose well-practised intellects, reason and powerful argument only could find attention. Laing has shown in his writings

a minute knowledge of all branches of Scottish law: he voluntarily acted the part of a lawyer, in historical subjects, in a manner which has called forth the highest praise to his merely forensic talents; and it may, on the whole, be safely concluded, that the limited extent of his practice at the bar must be attributed more to his choice than to his talent. The first fruit of Mr Laing's laborious constitutional investigations, was the preparing for the press the last volume of Dr Henry's History of Great Britain in 1793, after that author's death. The matter collected by Henry did not extend to a period at which the work could be terminated, and Laing was requested by his executors to write two terminating chapters, to which he annexed a dissertation on the alleged crimes of Richard III. The labours of the two authors could not be very aptly united, and many consider Laing as a fierce liberalist, whose doctrines appeared harsh and prejudiced, when compared to the calm narrative of Henry. The authors were indeed extremely dissimilar, but we must pause before we decide in favour of the former. Henry was a man of tame mind and tolerable good sense; but if he appeared calm and moderate in his historical opinions, he was so, in the very safe and reputable cause of despotism, in which he insconced himself as an impregnable fortress, which it did not require much skill to defend. Laing, on the other hand was a man of strong judgment and profound speculation; and if he was violently argumentative in support of the opinions he had adopted, he was so, not as a man who is determined to maintain a given point because he has chosen it, and is personally interested in its being shown to be true; but as one who had considered the matter accurately, had submitted it to the arbitration of his strong judgment, and was resolved to crush those prejudices which prevented others from seeing it as it appeared to himself. It is the height of all prejudice to blame an historian for his opinions; but many have deserved too much blame for twisting facts to support opinions, instead of bending opinions to accommodate them to facts. It was the object of Laing to discover the truth. Perhaps prepossession in favour of the line of principles he had adopted may have, therefore, prompted him to derive improper deductions from the facts which he produced; but his strongest political opponents have never accused him of perverting facts. Laing is said likewise to have composed the memoir of Henry which accompanied the History; but it certainly does not display his usual energy of style. Whatever defects some may have discovered in the continuation of Henry's History, the critical world in general saw its merit, and bestowed the countenance of its approbation. The author thus encouraged to new historical labours, looked towards his native country, and in 1800, he published "The History of Scotland, from the union of the crowns, on the accession of king James VI. to the throne of England, to the union of the kingdoms, in the reign of queen Anne. With two dissertations, historical and critical, on the Gowry Conspiracy, and on the supposed authenticity of Ossian's Poems." As in the previous case, his book was very dissimilar to that of the person of whose labours his were a continuation—Dr Robertson. Of the flowing academical ease of that author it is very destitute. It cannot be called either inelegant or harsh, but it is complicated; and by being laboured to contain much meaning, is occasionally obscure. There is much in the profundity of the remarks and reflections which Dr Robertson could not have reached; but the chief merit lies in the display of critical power on matters of evidence, in which he displays all the acumen of the practised lawyer, and the close observer of human nature. From this peculiar merit, the separate dissertations, containing nothing but special pleadings, are the most useful and admirable parts of the book. In all parts of the work, the author's ruling spirit has prompted him to search for debated facts, few of which he has left without some sort of settlement

of the point. He has treated in this manner many points of English history, among which is the celebrated question of the author of *Eikon Basilike*, concerning which he has fully proved, that whatever share Charles may have had in the suggestion or partial composition, Gauden was the person who prepared the work for the press. Mr Laing appears to have enjoyed a peculiar pleasure in putting local and personal prejudices at defiance, and exulting in the exercise of strong reasoning powers; he has not hesitated to attack all that is peculiarly sacred to the feelings of his countrymen; a characteristic strikingly displayed in his dissertation on the authenticity of Ossian's Poems. These productions required no depth of argument, or minute investigation of facts, to support their authenticity in the feelings of an enthusiastic people: and those who did not believe them, had not troubled themselves with calmly meeting what they considered unconquerable prejudices.

Laing may, therefore, be considered as the first person who examined the pretensions of Macpherson on the broad ground of an investigation into facts. The arguments in this dissertation may be considered as of three sorts: the first, a logical examination of the arguments and proofs adduced, or supposed to be adduced, in favour of the authenticity of the poems, which, as the author has only sceptical arguments to produce, is the least interesting and satisfactory part of the investigation. The second body of arguments is drawn from contemporary documents and chronological facts,—a portion of the subject in which the author showed his vast reading, and his power of clearly distinguishing truth from falsehood, constituting a body of evidence which finally demolished any claim on the part of “the Poems of Ossian” as authentic *translations* of the productions of a Highland bard of the fourth century. The third part of our division, containing an examination of the internal evidence drawn from the poems themselves, if not the most conclusive part of the examination, is certainly that which gives us the strongest idea of the author's critical ingenuity, and his powers as a special pleader. He produces terms and ideas which could not be presumed to have entered into the minds of the early inhabitants of Britain, from their never having encountered the circumstances which legitimately rouse them, such as the idea attached to the term “desert,” which cannot be a part of speech with men who inhabit a wild and thinly peopled country, and can only be comprehended by those who are accustomed to see or hear of vast barren tracts of country, as opposed to cities, or thickly peopled districts.

He produces similes, and trains of ideas derived, or plagiarised from the writings of other authors, particularly from Virgil, Milton, Thomson, and the Psalms; and finally, he enters into a curious comparison between the method of arranging the terms and ideas in the Poems of Ossian, and that exhibited in a forgotten poem called “The Highlanders,” published by Macpherson in early life. The author of such an attack on one of the fortresses of the national pride of Scotland, did not perpetrate his work without suitable reprobation; the Highlanders were “loud in their wail,” and the public prints swarmed with ebullitions of their wrath. Mr Laing was looked on as a man who had set all feelings of patriotism at defiance: to many it seemed an anomaly in human nature, that a Scotsman should thus voluntarily undermine the great boast of his country; and, unable otherwise to account for such an act, they sought to discover in the author, motives similar to those, which made the subject sacred to themselves. “As I have not seen Mr Laing's History,” says one gentleman, “I can form no opinion as to the arguments wherewith he has attempted to discredit Ossian's Poems: the attempt could not come more naturally than from Orcadians. Perhaps the severe checks given by the ancient Caledonians to their predatory Scandinavian predecessors raised prejudices not yet extinct. I con-

ceive how an author can write under the influence of prejudice, and not sensible of being acted upon by it.”¹ This gentlemen, who had not seen Mr Laing’s History, probably conceived his observation to be one which would go bitterly home to the feelings of his opponent; but we fear Mr Laing’s feelings regarding the Celts were a strong armour against the arrow, as we have heard that he was personally partial to the Highlanders, so much so as to be designated by those who knew him, “a regular Celt.” Mr Laing’s dissertations on the Poems of Ossian had the merit of causing to be produced “The Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the Poems of Ossian,” conducted under the superintendence of Henry Mackenzie, published in 1805.

At the same period, Mr Laing brought the controversy to a final issue, by publishing a work, which, with a sneer in its designation he entitled “The Poems of Ossian, &c. containing the poetical works of James Macpherson, Esq., in prose and rhyme, with notes and illustrations.” The nature of the “notes and illustrations” may easily be presumed; the work indeed is a curiosity in literature. The edition of Ossian is a very splendid one; and, like an animal decked for sacrifice, the relentless editor introduced it conspicuously to the world, with the apparent purpose of making its demolition the more signal. Within the same year, Mr Laing’s line of argument was answered by Mr McDonald, and two years afterwards, a long and elaborate work, complacently termed a “confutation,” was produced by the reverend Mr Graham, who, however, made a somewhat unlucky development of his qualifications for this task, by quoting the “De Moribus Germanorum” of Tacitus, referring entirely to the Teutonic nations, as authority concerning the Celts. Mr Laing never confuted his arguments, having never made the attempt.

In the mean time, Mr Laing’s controversial disposition had prompted him to discover another subject, in the treatment of which he excited a still greater degree of wrath. In 1804, he published an edition of his History of Scotland, to which he prefixed two volumes, containing “A Preliminary Dissertation on the participation of Mary queen of Scots in the murder of Darnley.” The purpose of the treatise was, with the author’s usual decision and boldness, declared in the title, and through the whole of the lengthy detail of two volumes on one historical incident, he never wavers in the slightest degree from the conclusion of guilt. Having first formed his opinion in the matter—on good grounds, it is charitably to be presumed—he lays down and arranges his documents and arguments with the precision and conciseness of a lawyer, and no more hints at the possibility of the innocence of the queen, than the crown lawyer at that of his victim. Few who have ever read this extraordinary work can forget the startling exactness with which the arguments are suited to the facts, and to the guiding principles of the whole narrative of the renowned event laid before the reader. “Mr Laing’s merit,” says a writer in the Edinburgh Review, who refers to this work as to one peculiarly characteristic of his genius, “as a critical inquirer into history, an enlightened collector of materials, and a sagacious judge of evidence, has never been surpassed. If any man believes the innocence of queen Mary, after an impartial and dispassionate perusal of Mr Laing’s examination of her case, the state of such a man’s mind would be a subject worthy of much consideration by a philosophical observer of human nature. In spite of his ardent love of liberty, no man has yet presumed to charge him with the slightest sacrifice of historical integrity to his zeal. That he never perfectly attained the art of full, clear, and easy narrative, was owing to the peculiar style of those writers who were popular in his youth, and may

¹ Rev. Mr Gallie’s Letter to the Highland Society Committee,—Report 39.

be mentioned as a remarkable instance of the disproportion of particular talents to general vigour of mind."¹

Laing was intimately acquainted with Charles Fox, with whom he conducted an ample correspondence, the letters of which on both sides, still, we believe, exist unpublished, and would certainly form a very interesting addition to our epistolary information regarding great men. That eminent statesman frequently quoted the historical works of Mr Laing, as containing matter which could be relied on for its authenticity; and Laing became an active and zealous supporter of the short administration of his friend, during which he represented his native county in parliament. It is said, that notwithstanding the disadvantages of his manner, he was listened to and much respected as a speaker; and he gave all the assistance which so short a period admitted to the plans of the ministry for improving the Scottish courts of law. After his brief appearance as a legislator, the state of his health prevented him from interfering in public business. Whether from excessive study and exertion, or his natural habit of body, he suffered under a nervous disorder of excessive severity, which committed frightful ravages on his constitution; and it is said that he was required to be frequently supported in an artificial position, to prevent him from fainting. He retired to his estate in Orkney, and his health being to a certain extent restored by a cessation from laborious intellectual pursuits, his ever active mind employed itself in useful exercise within his narrow sphere of exertion: he improved his own lands, introduced better methods of cultivation than had been previously practised in the district, and experimented in the breeding of Merino sheep. He died in the end of the year 1818, having, notwithstanding the great celebrity of his works, been so much personally forgotten by the literary world, that it is with difficulty that we have been enabled to collect matter sufficient for an outline of his life. He was married to Miss Carnegie, daughter of a gentleman in Forfarshire, and sister-in-law to lord Gillies, who still survives him. His property was succeeded to by Samuel Laing his "elder" brother.² Besides the works we have discussed above, it may be mentioned that he edited the *Life of James VI.*, published in 1804.

LAUDER, (SIR) JOHN, lord Fountainhall, an eminent lawyer and statesman, was born at Edinburgh, on the 2nd of August, 1646.³ His father was John, afterwards Sir John Lauder, baronet, a merchant and baillie of Edinburgh, a younger branch and afterwards chief of the family of Lauder of Bass and Lauder. The subject of our memoir was his eldest son, by his second marriage with Isabel Ellis, daughter of Alexander Ellis of Mortonhall. By this wife he had fourteen sons and two daughters; by a previous marriage he had three children, and by a third wife, of whom mention will be made hereafter, he had four sons and two daughters. Of the early education of young Lauder, we know nothing, with the exception of a passing memorandum in his voluminous memorials of legal matters, which shows that he had passed some time at the university of Leyden, at that time the principal continental resort of students at law. "The university of St Andrews," he says, "claims to be freed from paying excise for all drink furnished to the scholars, and that upon the general privilege competent to all universities by custom. I remember we enjoyed that privilege at Leyden, after our immatriculation." Having accomplished his preparatory studies, he passed as an advocate on the 5th of June, 1668, and commenced the

¹Ed. Rev. xliv. 37.

²Ed. Annual Register, 1818, p. 250

³Register of baptisms in Edinburgh. For this, and all the other information relative to lord Fountainhall, not to be found in printed works, we are obliged to a very curious MS. collection regarding him, made by his descendant Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, of which that gentleman has kindly permitted us the use.

practical pursuit of his profession with vigour, after having previously, as his early proficiency as a lawyer shows us, prepared his mind by intense and accurate study. "From my admission as an advocate," he says, "in June, 1668, I began to mark the decisions of the court of session;" and it is to his uninterrupted industry in this occupation that we owe that valuable mass of precedents, known by the name of "*Fountainhall's Decisions*," published in two volumes folio, and lately more fully re-edited from the original manuscripts. In a case which he reports during his earlier years at the bar, strong internal evidence, arising from the use of the first person singular—the unusual prolixity of the speech,⁴ and the absence of the name of the counsel, shows himself to have acted in that capacity. This action was at the instance of the town of Stirling, against the unfreemen in Falkirk and Kilsyth, bearing date January 18, and June 25, 1672. Lauder's speech is a curious specimen of the mixed logical and rhetorical eloquence of the forensic pleading of the age, when the judges acted more as a deliberative assembly, than as a body of lawyers bound to the letter of certain enactments; and the person who addressed them, if he could not sway their passions as those of a modern jury are affected, had a wide field of influence in their reason or prejudices. Contrasted with the restricted legal pleadings of the present day, the following commencement on the part of "the learned gentleman for the prosecution," would appear very singular: "My lord commissioner, may it please your grace, what happiness and cheerfulness the eminent and most eloquent of all the apostles, St Paul, expresses, when he is put to plead his cause before Festus and Agrippa, because the one had long been a judge in his nation, and the other was expert in all the manners and customs of the Jews, the same gladness possesses the town of Stirling, and with them the whole royal burghs, that they are to plead in behalf of their privileges this day, before your grace, the great patron and conservator of them." It is to be remarked, that, in this case, Lauder is pleading for the exclusive privileges of burghs, and in favour of monopolies. He opens his speech with a sketch of the arguments of his adversary, on which, probably with a wish to caricature them, he has bestowed an amiable liberality of doctrine, which Adam Smith could not have excelled, and told many politico-economical truths, which few had then imagined. His own answers to the principles he thus beautifully lays down, sound harsh and jarring in comparison, although they were far more accordant to the principles of the time. "Do not," he says with considerable tact, "think it a light matter to rob the royal burghs of their privileges, which are become their property by as good a title as any of you bruik your lands and estate. By what hand ye shall communicate these liberties (now called in question,) to the defenders, by that same shall ye lop off the royal burghs from being the third estate in the kingdom. Remember that a threefold cord ought not to be easily broken. Consider that lamentable confusion may follow on loosing one pin of the government; that the touching such a fundamental sacred constitution may unhinge the whole; that government is like a sheaf of arrows fast bound, pull out one, all will follow and fall to the ground; and how terribly dangerous such an innovation may be." It will be held in mind, however, that each counsel was feed for the principles he maintained, and that the genuine opinions of both may have almost united in "a happy medium." The speech, on the whole, is full of classical learning, and statistical information, and cannot fail to convey a pleasing idea of the intelligence and talent of a forensic orator of the seventeenth century.

⁴ Extending from p. 642, to 679, of Brown's Supplement, where it is styled "*Fountainhall's Speech for the Pursuers*."

Soon after this period, we find the subject of our memoir connected with one of those constitutional acts of resistance, for which the bar of Scotland has only, in a very few instances, been celebrated. It is well known to those acquainted with Scottish history, that a private litigation betwixt the earls of Dunfermline and Callender interested the feelings or cupidity of Lauderdale, who was determined to influence the decision in favour of the former, by swaying the judges through his personal appearance on the bench, in virtue of his honorary title of "an extraordinary lord of session." The affair was managed by having the cause prematurely called in court, in defiance of statute; and, a decision being come to in favour of the pursuer, Callender lodged an appeal to parliament, a novel procedure, which it was the interest of the king and of the judges to stifle at its first appearance. There are few who will not acknowledge, that a final appeal of litigated cases to the legislative tribunal of the country, is, if not a preventive, at least a check to the consequences of influence or prejudice in inferior judicatories. The absence of such a principle, and the decay of jury trial in Scotland, had both originated from the same cause. Parliament was anciently the great jury of the nation, and, with the king as its president, the court of last resort in all litigations: but becoming, from the nature of the inferior courts, overburdened with judicial business, which a large body of men could not easily accomplish, the full powers of parliament, in this respect, were bestowed on a judicial committee called the Lords Auditors, from which, through a gradation of changes, was formed the court of session, which thus, by its origin, united the duties of the jury, the law court, and the legislative body of last resort. In these circumstances, it was not difficult for government to discover, that a measure so displeasing to itself, was a daring innovation of the "constitution." The counsel for the appellants, Lockhart and Cunningham, were desired to make oath regarding their share in this act of insubordination, and not only refusing, but maintaining the justice of appeals, were summarily prohibited the exercise of their profession. The members of the bar united to resent the insult and protect their rights, and fifty advocates, (probably very nearly the whole number then at the bar,) of whom Lauder was one,⁵ followed their distinguished brethren to retirement, and at the instance of Lauderdale, were banished twelve miles from Edinburgh. After a year's exile, they were allowed to return, having managed to effect a compromise with the court. In another appeal, which was attempted not long after, the appellant was persuaded to trust to the effect of recalling his appeal; but the judges, on whom the mixture of intimidation and flattery appears to have produced little effect, adhered, notwithstanding an implied promise to the contrary, to their previous interlocutor. "And so," remarks Lauder in reference to the case, "he was either ill or well served for his complimenting them. But the times were such that no rational man could expect a rectification from them of what had once, even through unawares, escaped them. When their honour was once engaged at the stake, they blushed to confess what is incident to humanity itself, *nam humanum est errare*." With regard to his own sufferings for judicial integrity, he remarks, "I have few or no observations for the space of three sessions and a half, viz. from June, 1674, till January, 1676, in regard I was at that time debarred from any employment, with many other lawyers, on the account we were unclear to serve under the strict and servile ties seemed to be imposed on us by the king's letter, discharging any to quarrel the lords of session their sen-

⁵ Mackenzie's Memoirs, 293, where Lauder, among others, subscribes an address by the debarred advocates to the privy council. For a farther account of the affair, see the memoirs of Sir G. Lockhart, and Sir G. Mackenzie.

tences of injustice, and was not restored till January, 1676." After his restoration to his powers, his collection of decisions shows that he was a well employed and active counsellor.

His next appearance in public life, is at the celebrated trial of the earl of Argyle in 1681, for a treasonable explanation of the test, for whom Lauder acted as counsel, along with Lockhart and six others. The vulgar prejudice against vindicating a person accused of any crime, together with the cautious vigilance of the crown, trammelled for a long time the legitimate powers of counsel in Scotland, and especially in cases of treason, brought their duty so much under the arbitration of the court, that a practice prevailed by which it was considered illegal to defend a person accused of such a crime, without the permission of government; and therefore every prudent advocate declined interfering till he could produce a royal warrant. In the present instance, Argyle's counsel had prepared and signed, as lawyers, an "opinion" that his explanation of the test was a legal one. The consequence of this, as detailed in Lauder's own words, was, that "The counsell named a committee to call my lord Argyle's eight advocates, vizt., Sir George Lockhart, Sir John Dalrymple, Messieurs Walter Pringle, David Thoires, Patrick Home, John Stewart, James Graham, and myself, for subscribing an opinion that his explanation contained nothing treasonable in it. We were examined upon oath; and it was called a new practice to sign opinions with us, especially in criminal cases importing treason, and a bad preparative; though lawyers should not be prelinitted nor overawed freely to plead in defence of their clients; the privy council having authorized us to that purpose. Tho' some aimed at imprisoning and depriving us, yet, after we had spoke with his royal hynes, he was pleased to pass it; tho', he said, if any bad use were made of our signed opinion, by spreading it abroad in England to incense them, or reproach the duke or the judges, he could not but blame us. It was afterwards printed in England, and Argyle's triall, with another piece, called a Scotch Mist to wet ane Englishman to the Skin: being sundry animadversions on Argyle's process."

Although his political proceedings do not seem to have been calculated to bring him within the atmosphere of court favour, he early received the dignity of knighthood; at what precise period is not known, but apparently previous to the year 1681. Much about the same period, or some years afterwards, he appears to have acted as one of the assessors to the city of Edinburgh; a circumstance discoverable from his remarking, that on the 4th of November, 1685, the other gentleman who held that office was removed, from some cause connected with burgh politics, while he was retained.

In 1685, Sir John Lauder became a member of the Committee of Estates; and for more than twenty years,⁶ until the treaty of union, he appears from the journals of the house to have performed his parliamentary duties with activity and zeal. He was returned for the shire of Haddington on the 23rd of April, along with Sir John Wedderburn of Gosford. His election was disputed by Sir James Hay of Simplum; and the committee on controverted elections having reported that the votes were equally divided, a new election was proposed, when one of the voters for Sir James Hay being discovered to have given his vote after the election had been formally terminated, Sir John Lauder was declared the sitting member by a majority of one. Lauder was early discovered in his legislative, as he had been in his professional capacity, not to be a do-

⁶ The record shows him to have been returned of the following dates: 23d April, 1685; 29th April, 1686; 3rd September, 1690; 9th May, 1695; 8th September, 1696; 21st May, 1700; 6th May, 1703; 6th July, 1704; 28th June, 1705; 3rd October, 1706.—*Act. Parl.* vols. viii, ix, x, xi.

cile and obedient supporter of the measures of government. In the first parliament which he attended, he refused to vote for the forfeiture of the earl of Melville, who had fled from the wrath of government after the discovery of the Rye-house plot.⁷

He was a zealous friend to the protestant faith, when there were few in Scotland who risked an open defence of the religion to which they were so ardently attached. The government, who found it difficult to make the protection of protestantism a crime, had nevertheless power enough to harass him. "On May 1st, 1686," he says, "Mr James Young, son to Andrew Young, writer to the signet, is apprehended by captain Graham, and kept in the court of guard, being delated as a copier and dispenser of a paper, containing reasons why the parliament should not consent to the dispensing with the penal laws against papists, and reflecting in the end on such protestants as had apostatized! and for having verses against the bishop of St Andrews and bishop of Edinburgh; and he having in his examination named John Wilson and John Nasmyth, my servants,⁸ as bringers of these papers to his chamber, the chancellor signed an order to captain Graham to arrest them, apprehending possibly to reach myself for libelling, as he termed it. But they having named their authors from whom they had them, were liberated, and their authors, viz. Mr John Ellis, Robert Keill, &c. were cited."—"My two servants," he afterwards says, "being imprisoned, and I threatened therewith, as also that they would seize upon my papers, and search if they contained anything offensive to the party then prevailing, I was necessitated to hide the manuscript, and many others, and intermit my historic remarks till the Revolution in the end of 1688, after which I began some observes of our meeting of estates of parliament held in 1690-93 and 95, and other occurrences foreign and domestick, briefly summed up, and drawn together yearly, (but not with such enlargements as I have used heir,) and are to be found up and downe in several manuscripts besyde me, to be reviewed *cum dabit otium Deus*."

When James made his well-known recommendation to the parliament of Scotland to rescind the penal statutes against Roman catholics, Lauder joined in the debate on the appropriate answer, in a spirit of moderation, which, according to the amount of his charity, the reader may attribute to prudence, or liberality, or both united. On the question, what term the parliament should bestow on those who professed the Romish faith, "I represented," says he, "that there was no man within the house more desirous to have these odious marks of division buried, and that we might all be united under the general name of Christian. It is true the names under which they were known in our law were the designations of the papistical kirk, heresy, error, superstition, popish idolatry, and maintainers of the cruel decrees of the council of Trent; and though it was not suitable to the wisdom and gravity of parliament to give them a title implying as if they were the true church, and we but a sect, yet I wished some soft appellation, with the least offence, might be fallen on, and therefore I proposed it might run thus, *those commonly called Roman Catholics*; that the most part of our divines calls *us* the catholics, and so Chamier begins his *Panstratia*, 'Vertuntur controversiæ, Catholicos inter et Papistas.' The chancellor called this a nicknaming of the king, and proposed it might run in general terms thus, *as to those subjects your majesty has recommended to us*, &c." The motion of the archbishop of Glasgow, that they should be simply termed "Roman Catholics,"—a repetition of the king's own words—was finally carried. But

⁷ Act Parl., ix. Ap. 45.

⁸ The term "servant" is invariably used by Lauder and other lawyers of the period for "clerk."

however he might be inclined to be conciliatory about epithets, Lauder resisted with firmness the strong attempt made by James and his commissioner, the earl of Moray, towards the conclusion of the parliament, finally to abolish the penalties against Roman catholics. In his manuscripts are preserved seventeen closely written pages of matter on this subject, entitled "A Discourse in defence, whereof part was spoken in the parliament, of the Penal Laws against Popery, and why the Toleration Act should not pass; and the rest was intended, but was prevented by the sudden rising of the parliament." Frequent application, often in the most contemptible of causes, has made the arguments contained in this able document too hackneyed to please a modern taste; an impartial posterity, however, will reflect, that though liberal feeling has often been disgusted by a similar discussion of a question, which to this day bears the same name, the supporters of the penal laws against Roman catholics in the reign of James the Seventh, were not striking against freedom of opinion; that they were a party which had just halted from a battle for their own privileges and liberties, and once more beheld them sternly menaced; that they did not wish to dictate to the consciences of an oppressed body of men, but were boldly preserving the purity of their own, by using the only means in their power to prevent the resuscitation of a church which sat in judgment over the mind, and was armed with a sword to compel obedience to its dictates. "It were," says Lauder, "a strange excess and transport of Christian lenity and moderation, to abolish our laws against papists, who, by the principles and practice of their church, may show no favour to us; but will turn the weapons we arm them with to the total subversion of our religion:" words which had a meaning when a bigoted papal monarch sat on the throne, and the horrors of a high commission were in too fresh recollection; but which have none when used towards a poor and powerless body, desiring to enjoy their own religion in peace.

We must not omit to mention, that at the trial of the duke of Monmouth in 1686, Sir John Lauder and other two counsel were employed to protest for the interest of the duchess, who was absolute proprietrix of the estate enjoyed by her husband. The criminal court would not condescend to receive a protest in a matter purely civil; but did condescend to forfeit the property of the duchess for the crime of her husband. It was afterwards, however, given back by the king.

We pause in the history of his political career, to record a few domestic events which characterized the life of Sir John Lauder. He had been married on the 21st January, 1669, to Janet Ramsay, daughter of Sir Andrew Ramsay, lord Abbotshall, whose father was the celebrated Andrew Ramsay, minister of the Grey-friars' church. This lady, after bearing him eleven children, died in 1686. Her husband has thus affectionately noted the event, "27 Februarii, 1686, at night happened *mors charissimæ meæ conjugis mihi amarissima et luctuosissima*; so there is little to the 10th of March, I not having come abroad till then." On the margin is written *nota non obliviscenda*. In the curious familiar memorials which he has left behind him, we find frequent instances of that warm domestic feeling which is often the private ornament of men illustrious for their public and political intrepidity. To any disaster in his numerous family—for he had seven children by a second wife—we sometimes meet such simple allusions as the following, buried among the legal notanda, or the political events of that feverish period: "17 Decembris, 1695, I entered on the bills; and my dear child Robert dying this day, the observes are the fewer, in respect of my absence for two days, and my other affairs, which diverted my constant attention that week." Again, "21 July, 1696, Tuesday: my dear son William

dying this day, I was absent till his burial was over." Sir John was a second time married on the 26th of March, 1687, to Marion Anderson, daughter of Anderson of Balram, who survived him.

The domestic tranquillity of this excellent man was long harassed by the machinations of a step-mother,—his father's third wife, of whose heteroclite proceedings we must give a slight sketch. This woman, Margaret Ramsay, daughter to George Ramsay of Iddington, to whom Sir John Lauder's father was united in 1670, at the ripe age of 86, prevailed on her husband to procure a baronet's title, which he obtained in July, 1688, and the lady, showing that she had more important designs than the gratification of female vanity, managed, by an artifice for which parental affection can scarcely form an excuse, to get the patent directed to her own son George, and the other heirs male of her body, without any reference to the children of the previous marriage.

A document among the papers of Sir John Lauder, being a draft of an indictment, or criminal libel, at the instance of the lord advocate, before the privy council, against the lady and her relations, gives us his own account of the transaction: it is dated 1690, and commences "Memorandum for Sir John Lauder, to raise ane libell at privy counsell at the instance of Sir J. D. (Sir John Dalrymple), his majesty's advocate, for his majesty's interest, and of Sir John Lauder, Mr William and Andrew Lauders, his brothers german, against Margaret Ramsay, &c." Neither the Medea of Euripides, nor the old ballad of "Lord Randal my Son," gives a more *beau ideal* picture of the proceedings of the "cruel step-dame," than this formidable document. It accuses her of having "wearied her husband by her excessive importunity and ambition to procure and accept ane knight baronet's patent;" that, having managed through her relations to direct the destination in the manner we have mentioned, the old gentleman immediately sent the patent to Mr Robert Lauder to be altered, and Mr Robert, certainly not having the fear of what are awfully termed consequences before his eyes, proceeded to his duty, when the enraged lady "with several others of her accomplices, intending by force to have taken the patent from him, threatened to see his heart's blood if he did not deliver it presently." Farther, "to fright her husband to comply with her unreasonable and unjust demands, she threatened that she would starve herself if that patent was not taken to her son, and that she would kill herself if she saw any of the complainers come near the house, and if he did not absolutely discharge them his presence;" and still more emphatically, "she tore the clothes off her body, and the hoods off her head, and sware fearful oaths, that she would drown herself and her children, and frequently cursed the complainers, and defamed and traduced them in all places, and threatened that she hoped to see them all rooted out, they and their posterity, off the face of the earth, and her children would succeed to all."⁹ A decree appears to have been obtained against the defenders in the privy council; and the patent being reduced in the civil court, a new destination was obtained, by which Sir John Lauder succeeded to the family title and estates on the death of his father in 1692.

⁹ Notwithstanding her ferocity, this woman seems to have managed to be regretted at her death. She is the only person to whom, from the date (April 18, 1713), we can apply a piece of doggerel. "In obitum piæ ac generosissimæ Domine D.A. Fountainhall, Elegidium, ad usum et captum adolescentuli ejusdem filii Alexandri Lauder, ex industria accommodatum. It thus elegantly commences:

An quia matrona es, generoso stemmate nata
Fatorum rigido numine, saneta cadis."

Or as it is Englished,

"Fallen by the dismal stroke of harsher fate,
Because by birth, but more by virtue great.

Pamphlets Ad. Lib. M. 4. 4.

Meantime, the Revolution had brought him a relief from the dangers and difficulties of opposition, and the hope of preferment and influence. He was appointed a lord of session, and took his seat with the title of "lord Fountainhall," on the 1st November, 1689. On the 27th of January following, he was also nominated a lord of justiciary. In 1692, Sir John Lauder was offered the lucrative and influential situation of lord advocate; but the massacre of Glencoe, an act characteristic of a darker age and a bloodier people, had just taken place; the lukewarmness, if not criminality of the government, formed an impediment, and to his honour be it mentioned, he would not accept the proffered situation except on the condition of being allowed to prosecute the murderers. At the time when the Scottish parliament found it necessary to strike a blow for the property of the nation invested in the Darien scheme, it was proposed that the parliament should vote an address to the king, calling on him to vindicate the honour of Scotland, and protect the company. The more determined spirits in that exasperated assembly demanded an act as the legitimate procedure of an independent body. Among these was Lauder. The address was carried by 108 to 84, and a body of those who voted otherwise, with Hamilton and Lauder at their head, recorded their dissent.¹ He began at this period to show opposition to the measures of government. Along with Hamilton, he recorded a dissent from the motion of the high commissioner, for continuing for four months the forces over and above the 3000, which constituted the regular establishment.² He attended parliament during the tedious discussion of the several articles of the union, and we find his protest frequently recorded, although to one or two articles which did not involve the principle of an incorporating union, he gave his assent. In the final vote, his name is recorded among the noes.

Soon after the union, on the appointment of circuits, old age interfered with lord Fountainhall's performance of all his laborious duties, and after some unwillingness on the part of royalty to lose so honest a servant, he resigned his justiciary gown, and a short time before his death, he gave up his seat in the court of session. This good and useful man died in September, 1722, leaving to his numerous family a considerable fortune, chiefly the fruit of his own industry. On a character which has already spoken for itself through all the actions of a long life, we need not dilate. His high authority as a rational lawyer is well known to the profession. His industry was remarkable. His manuscripts, as extant, fill ten folio and three quarto volumes; and there is reason to believe, from his references, that several were lost.

In 1822, was published "Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 till 1701, being chiefly taken from the Diary of lord Fountainhall." Unfortunately this volume is not taken from the original manuscript, but from an abridged compilation by a Mr Milne, a writer in Edinburgh; a fierce Jacobite, who has disturbed the tranquil observations of the judge with his own fiery additions, apparently judging that his cause might be well supported by making an honest adversary tell falsehoods in its favour. A genuine selection from the historical manuscripts of lord Fountainhall would be a useful addition to our historical literature.

LAUDER, WILLIAM, a man renowned in literary history, for having turned superior talents, and very high classical acquirements, to an attempt to defraud Milton of his fame. Of the period of his birth, which has escaped the patient investigation of Chalmers, we are totally ignorant. The earlier part of his life was passed in great obscurity, although it has been ascertained from his own remarks—in after life we believe—that he was connected, and not very distantly, with the respectable family of Lauder of Fountainhall. He received all his edu-

¹ Act. Parl., x. 269.

² Act. Parl., x. 294.

cation in Edinburgh, and passed through the university with considerable credit. After leaving college, he seems to have immediately resorted to teaching, as a means of gaining a livelihood; his early career in this profession was for some time interrupted by an accident, which must have materially affected his future course of life. While standing near a party engaged in the game of golf, on Bruntsfield Links, near Edinburgh, a ball struck him on the knee; the wound, which cannot have been very serious, festered from careless treatment, and he was compelled to submit to the amputation of his leg.¹ In 1734, he was employed by professor Watt, then in bad health, to teach for him the class of Humanity, or Latin; and on the death of that gentleman he naturally exerted himself to procure an appointment as successor; but though he had talents to teach, he had not sufficient influence to be appointed a professor. We are, however, informed that on this occasion the professors gratuitously honoured him with "a testimonial from the heads of the university, certifying that he was a fit person to teach Humanity in any school or college whatever."² After this disappointment, his ambition sunk to an application for the subordinate situation of keeper to the university library, but this also was denied him. He appears indeed to have been a person whose disposition and character produced a general dislike, which was only to a small extent balanced by his talent and high scholarship. "He was," says Chalmers, with characteristic magniloquence, "a person about five feet seven inches high, who had a sallow complexion, large rolling fiery eyes, a stentorian voice, and a sanguine temper;" and Ruddiman has left, in a pamphlet connected with the subject of our memoir, a manuscript note, observing, "I was so sensible of the weakness and folly of that man, that I shunned his company, as far as decently I could." Ruddiman's opinion, however, if early entertained, did not prevent him from forming an intimate literary connexion with its subject.

In 1738, Lauder printed a proposal to publish by subscription "A Collection of Sacred Poems," "with the assistance of professor Robert Stewart, professor John Ker, (professor of Greek in Aberdeen, and afterwards of Latin in Edinburgh), and Mr Thomas Ruddiman." The promised work was published by Ruddiman in 1739, and forms the two well known volumes called "*Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*."³ What assistance Stewart and Ker may have given to this work appears not to be known; Ruddiman provided several notes, and three poems. This work was creditable both to the scholar and typographer. It contains a beautiful edition of the translation of the Psalms and the Song of Solomon, by Arthur Johnston, and similar sacred poems of merit, by Ker, Adamson, and Hog: it contains likewise a reprint of Eglisham's somewhat ludicrous attempt to excel Buchanan's best translated Psalm, the 104th,⁴ with the sarcastic "*judicium*" of Barclay on the respective merits of the competitors,⁵ and several minor sacred poems by Scottish authors are dispersed through the collection. The classical merit of these elegant poems, has, we believe, never been disputed by those who showed the greatest indignation at the machinations of their editor; nor is their merit less, as furnishing us with much biographical and critical information on the Latin literature of Scotland, among which may be mentioned a well written life of Arthur Johnston, and the hyperbolical

¹ Chalmers's Ruddiman, 146.

² Nichols's Anecdotes, ii. 136.

³ *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ, sive quatuor sacri codicis scriptorum, Davidis et Solomonis, Jobi et Jeremiæ, Poetici libri, per totidem Scotos, Arch. Johnstonum, et J. Kerrum, P. Adamsonum, et G. Hogeum, Latino carmine reddit: quibus ob argumenti similitudinem, obnectantur alia Scotorum itidem opuscula sacra.* Edinb: Ruddim: 1739.

⁴ *Certamen cum Georgio Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*

⁵ *Barclay Judicium de certamine Eglishamii cum G. Buchanano, pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*

praises, which proved so detrimental to the fame of that poet. To support the fame of the author he had delighted to honour, Lauder afterwards engaged in the literary controversy, about the comparative merits of Buchanan and Johnston, known by the name "*Bellum Grammaticale*."⁶

In 1740, the general assembly recommended the Psalms of Johnston, as an useful exercise in the lower classes of the grammar schools; but Lauder never realized from his publication the permanent annual income which he appears to have expected, "because," says Chalmers, "he had allowed expectation to outrun probability." In 1742, Lauder was recommended by Mr Patrick Cuming, professor of church history in the university of Edinburgh, and the celebrated Colin Maclaurin, as a person fitted to hold the rectorship of the grammar school of Dundee, which had been offered to his coadjutor Ruddiman in 1710; he was again, however, doomed to suffer disappointment, and in bitterness of spirit, and despair of reaching in his native place the status to which his talents entitled him, he appears to have fled to London, where he adopted the course which finally led to the ruin of his literary reputation. His first attempts on the fame of Milton were contained in letters addressed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1747, which that publication, certainly without due caution regarding charges so suspicious, unreservedly admitted for publication. The literary world indeed received the attacks on the honesty of the great poet with singular complacency, and the periodicals contained praises of the acuteness and industry of Lauder, some of which he afterwards ostentatiously published. The first person who attempted a discovery of the true merit of the attack, was the Reverend Mr Richardson, author of *Zoilomastix*, who, on the 8th of January, 1749, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which he maintained the falsity of Lauder's quotations from some books not very well known even to the learned world; particularly insisting that the passage "*non me iudice*," which Lauder had "extracted" from Grotius, was not to be found in that author, and that passages said to be from Masenius and Staphorstius, belonged to a partial translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* by Hog, who had written twenty years subsequently to the death of Milton.⁷ Although the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* arrogated to himself the praise of candour for admitting the strictures of Lauder, yet this communication was not published until the forgeries had been detected in another quarter, on the ground of unwillingness to give currency to so grave and unexpected a charge, without full examination.

In 1750, Lauder having brought his design to maturity, published his "*Essay on Milton's use and imitation of the moderns, in his Paradise Lost*," to which he prefixed as a motto the very appropriate line from the author he traduced, "*'Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.*" The reader is aware, that this book consists of a tissue of passages from obscure authors, from which it is maintained that Milton surreptitiously filched the materials of *Paradise Lost*. In the list are two of the critic's own countrymen, Andrew Ramsay and Alexander Ross, both respectable Latin versifiers and good scholars, but neither likely to have been suspected of giving much aid to Milton; in the introduction of the former of these, the critic may have gratified a little family pride,—he was father-in-law to lord Fountainhall, and consequently a connexion or relation of the author. Had the author confined his book to the tracing of such passages

⁶ For farther information on this matter, vide the Memoir of Arthur Johnston in this collection. The reader may remark that we have there praised the classical acquirements of auditor Benson if he was the author of the *Life of Johnston* prefixed to the edition of his Psalms. The circumstance that the life in the *Muse Sacrae* is exactly the same, leads to the conclusion that it is by Lauder.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.*, xx. 535.

of Milton, as accident has paralleled in far inferior poems, he might have produced a curious though not very edifying book : and, indeed, he has given us a sufficient number of such genuine passages, to make us wonder at his industry, and admire the ingenuity with which he has adapted them to the words of Milton ; but when he produces masses of matter, the literal translations of which exactly coincide with the poem unequalled in the eyes of all mankind, we express that astonishment at the audacity of the author, which we would have felt regarding the conduct of Milton, had the attempt remained undetected. As he spreads a deeper train of forgery and fraud round the memory of his victim, the author's indignation and passion increase, and from the simple accusation of copying a few ideas and sentences from others, passion and prejudice rouse him to accuse Milton of the most black and despicable desigus, in such terms as these : " I cannot omit observing here, that Milton's contrivance of teaching his daughters to read, but to read only, several learned languages, plainly points the same way, as Mr Phillips' secreting and suppressing the books to which his uncle was most obliged. Milton well knew the loquacious and incontinent spirit of the sex, and the danger, on that account, of entrusting them with so important a secret as his unbounded plagiarism : he, therefore, wisely confined them to the knowledge of the words and pronunciation only, but kept the sense and meaning to himself." It is generally believed that a character for probity is so dear to every man, that nothing but the temptation of gain, mingled generally with a prospect of concealment, will prompt a man to dishonesty. Here, however, was a man whose object could not be gain, courting that which depends more than any other acquisition upon probity of mind—real or assumed fame ; and doing so by a bold act of dishonesty, which could not escape discovery, and which, in proportion as he had traduced others, would be revisited upon himself. " As I am sensible," he solemnly says at the conclusion, " this will be deemed most outrageous usage of the divine, the immortal Milton, the prince of English poets, and the incomparable author of *Paradise Lost*, I take this opportunity to declare, in the most solemn manner, that a strict regard to TRUTH alone, and to do justice to those authors whom Milton has so liberally gleaned, without making the least distant acknowledgment to whom he stood indebted : I declare, I say, that these motives, and these only, have induced me to make this attack upon the reputation and memory of a person, hitherto universally applauded and admired for his uncommon poetical genius : and not any difference of country, or of sentiments in political or religious matters, as some weak and ignorant minds may imagine, or some malicious persons may be disposed to suggest." The violence of party spirit to which Lauder here alludes, has been alleged as a partial excuse, or rather motive, for his audacious act : but it may be more charitably, if not more naturally presumed, that the accidental discovery of a few of the parallel passages we have alluded to above, had prompted him to form a theory of universal plagiarism on the part of Milton, which a more than ordinary perverseness in favour of the creation of his own mind prompted him rather to support by falsehood, than resign ; while, as he afterwards partially admitted, spleen and disappointment may have sufficiently blackened his heart, to make him scruple at no means of gaining celebrity, and triumphing over the world that had oppressed him. Add to this the angry feelings which may have been roused, and the real injury done to his interest, by a ludicrous contrast of his favourite author Johnston, with Milton, in that passage of the *Dunciad* which is levelled at the literary predilections of Benson :

" On two unequal crutches propp'd he came ;
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name."

There is no crime so severely punished by the world as injustice, which is always repaid by a repetition of itself: hence the learned world which applauded the courage and ingenuity of Lauder, on the appearance of a full and explicit detection of his crimes, by his countryman Dr Douglas,⁸ were seized with a confirmed hatred against the person who had duped them, and would not admit to his degraded name, the talents and information he undoubtedly possessed and displayed. Lauder subscribed a confession, addressed to Dr Douglas, explaining his whole conduct to have been caused by the neglect with which the world had looked on his previous labours. This confession is said to have been dictated by Dr Johnson, who was one of those on whom Lauder had imposed, or rather of those who chose to submit to be imposed on, which we may safely trace, in his case, to the grudge he never ceased to bear towards the republican poet. The connexion of Johnson with Lauder's work is, indeed, somewhat mysterious. In a manuscript note on the margin of archdeacon Blackburne's remarks on the life of Milton, Johnson has said, "In the business of Lauder I was deceived, partly by thinking the man too frantic to be fraudulent."⁹ But others have alleged, that he did more than believe the statements of Lauder, and even gave assistance to the work. Dr Lort had a volume of tracts on the controversy, in which he wrote, "Dr Samuel Johnson has been heard to confess, that he encouraged Lauder to this attack upon Milton, and revised his pamphlet, to which he wrote a preface and postscript." On the same subject Dr Douglas remarks, "It is to be hoped, nay, it is expected, that the elegant and nervous writer, whose judicious sentiments, and inimitable style point out the author of Lauder's preface and postscript, will no longer allow one to plume himself with his feathers, who appeareth so little to deserve assistance: an assistance which, I am persuaded, would never have been communicated, had there been the least suspicion of those facts which I have been the instrument of conveying to the world in these sheets."¹⁰ Boswell repels the insinuation that Johnson assisted in the preparation of the body of the work, assuring us that Douglas did not wish to create such a suspicion; while he acknowledges the preface and postscript to have been the work of his hands.¹¹ On a first perusal of the book, we were indeed struck with the sonorous eloquence and majesty of the commencement and termination, when compared to the bareness of the other portions of the work, and a slight hint is quite sufficient to convince us of the authorship. The postscript contains matter much at variance with the other contents of the book, and had it been the work of Lauder, it might have gone far to redeem, at least the soundness of his *heart*, from the opprobrium which has been heaped upon him. It called for the admirers of Milton's works, to join in a subscription to the grand-daughter of Milton, who then lived in an obscure corner of London, in age, indigence, and sickness.

Notwithstanding his penitence, a desire to traduce the fame of Milton seems to have haunted this unhappy man like an evil spirit. In 1754, he published "The grand Impostor detected, or Milton detected of Forgery against king Charles the First." An answer to this pamphlet appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1754, supposed to be from the hand of Johnson. After this period, Lauder quitted England, and for some time taught a school in Barbadoes. "His behaviour there," says Nichols, "was mean and despicable; and

⁸ Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiarism brought against him by Lauder; and Lauder himself convicted of several forgeries and gross impositions on the public, in a letter addressed to the right hon. the earl of Bath, 1751, (by Dr Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury.)

⁹ Nichol's Anecdotes, II. 551.

¹⁰ Second edition, 73.

¹¹ Boswell's Johnson, (Croker's ed.) I. 191.

he passed the remainder of his life in universal contempt. He died some time about the year 1771, as my late friend Isaac Reed was informed by the gentleman who read the funeral service over him."¹ Chalmers mentions that there was published, in 1754, (probably just after his retreat from London,) a pamphlet entitled, "*Furius: or a modest attempt towards a History of the Life and surprising exploits of the famous W. L., critic and thief-catcher,*" a somewhat inappropriate name for the traducer of Milton.

LAW, JOHN, of Lauriston, comptroller-general of the finances of France, under the regency of Orleans, was born at Edinburgh, in the month of April, 1671. His mother, Jean Campbell, was descended from one of the numerous branches of the ducal house of Argyle. His father, William Law, was great-grandson of James Law, archbishop of Glasgow, and second son of James Law of Brunton in Fife. William Law acquired a considerable fortune by his profession as a goldsmith in the Scottish metropolis, and purchased the two estates of Lauriston and Randleston, a property of about 180 acres, in the parish of Cramond, and county of Edinburgh. He died shortly after making this purchase, leaving an only son, the subject of the present memoir, then fourteen years of age.

John received his education at Edinburgh, and early evinced an uncommon aptitude for the more abstruse branches of study. He likewise became skilled in games of dexterity and hazard, and acquired an enviable reputation in the tennis-court, a place of amusement then much frequented by young men of fashion in Scotland. But the early death of his father had relieved him from many salutary restraints, and *Beau Law*—as he was commonly called by his companions—shortly after reaching majority, found his affairs in a state of embarrassment, from which they were only extricated by the kindness and excellent management of his mother, who having obtained a disposition of the fee of Lauriston from her son, paid his debts, relieved the estate of its incumbrances, and executed an entail of the property.

Law was now in London, where his personal accomplishments, fascinating manners, and devotion to gambling, procured him admittance into some of the first circles. An affair of gallantry, however, with another dissolute young man, led to a hostile meeting, in which Law killed his antagonist on the spot. After a trial before the king and queen's commissioners in the Old Bailey, which lasted three days, the jury found the survivor in this duel guilty of murder, and sentence of death was accordingly passed upon him, 20th April, 1694. On a representation of the case to the crown, Law obtained a pardon; but was detained in the King's Bench, in consequence of an appeal against this extension of royal clemency towards him having been lodged by a brother of the deceased. He found means, however, to make his escape, and got clear off to the continent.²

Law was at this critical period of his life in the 26th year of his age. His dissipation had not destroyed the tone of his mind, nor enfeebled those peculiar powers which had so early developed themselves in him. He visited France, then under the brilliant administration of Colbert, where his inquiries were particularly directed to the state of the public finances, and the mode of conduct-

¹ Anecdotes, II. 137.

² On this occasion the following advertisement was published in the *London Gazette* of Monday, 7th January, 1695: "Captain John Law, a Scotchman, lately a prisoner in the King's Bench for murder, aged 26, a very tall, black lean man, well-shaped, above six feet high, large pock-holes in his face, big high nosed, speaks broad and loud, made his escape from the said prison. Whoever secures him, so as he may be delivered at the said prison, shall have fifty pounds paid immediately by the Marshall of the King's Bench." We may here observe, that this description was upon the whole inaccurate, and leaves room to believe that it was designed rather with the view of facilitating than impeding his escape.

ing banking establishments. From France he proceeded to Holland, where the mercantile system of those wealthy republicans, who had succeeded the merchant princes of Venice in conducting the commerce of Europe, presented to his mind a vast and most interesting subject of investigation. Amsterdam was at this period the most important commercial city in Europe, and possessed a celebrated banking establishment, on the credit of which her citizens had been enabled to baffle the efforts of Louis XIV., to enslave the liberties of their country; a treasury, whose coffers seemed inexhaustible, and the whole system of which was an enigma to the political economists of other countries. Law, with the view of penetrating into the secret springs and mechanism of this wonderful establishment, took up his residence for some time at Amsterdam, where he ostensibly officiated as secretary to the British resident.

About the year 1700, he returned to Scotland. He was now nearly thirty years of age, and had acquired a more accurate acquaintance with the theory of commercial and national finances, as well as with their practical details, than perhaps any single individual in Europe possessed at this time. The contrast which Scotland presented to those commercial countries which he had visited during his exile now struck him forcibly, and he immediately conceived the design of creating that capital to the want of which he attributed the depressed state of Scottish agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. Law's views were not without foundation; but unfortunately, he stumbled at the outset, by mistaking the true nature of capital. The radical delusion under which he laboured from the outset to the close of his financial career, originated in the idea which had got possession of his mind, that by augmenting the circulating medium of a country we proportionally augment its capital and productive energies. Now, money is not always convertible into capital, that is, into something which may be employed towards further production; for the creation of exchangeable products must, in the nature of things, precede the creation of a general medium of commerce, and it is quite evident, that if we double the amount of the circulating medium without doubling the products of industry, we just depreciate the currency in the degree of the excess, and do not increase the resources or industry of a country in the least. But Law conceived that to her overflow of money alone Holland owed her national prosperity; and he calculated that the increase of the circulating medium in Scotland would be absorbed by the increase of industry, and have no other effect than to lower the rate of interest. This view he developed in a publication entitled "Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade," dated at Edinburgh, 31st December, 1700, and published at Glasgow in the following year; and in a second and more important work, entitled "Money and Trade considered, with a Proposal for supplying the nation with Money," printed at Edinburgh in 1705.

In the latter work, Law developed his views of banking and the credit system. He proposed to supply Scotland with money by means of notes to be issued by certain commissioners appointed by parliament; which notes were to be given out to all who demanded them, upon the security of land. In answer to the supposition, that they might be depreciated by excess or quantity, he observed, that "the commissioners giving out what sums are demanded, and taking back what sums are offered to be returned, this paper-money will keep the value, and there will always be as much money as there is occasion or employment for, and no more." Here his project evidently confounds the quantity of good security in the country, and the quantity of money which people may wish to borrow at interest, with the quantity necessary for the circulation, so as to keep paper-money on a level with the precious metals, and the currency of surrounding countries,—a mistake which has prevailed to a very considerable ex-

tent in our own times. But notwithstanding of this capital error, Law has in the latter publication developed the principles and mechanism of banking in an astonishingly able and luminous manner for the period at which he wrote. The court party, and the *squadron*, headed by the duke of Argyle and the marquess of Tweeddale, entered warmly into Law's views; but parliament passed a resolution "that to establish any kind of paper-credit, so as to oblige it to pass, were an improper expedient for the nation."

Law now resolved to offer his system to some of those continental states whose finances had been exhausted by the wars of Louis XIV., and in which the principles of credit were imperfectly understood. With this view he went to Brussels, and from that city proceeded to Paris, where he won immense sums at play, and introduced himself into the good graces of the young duke of Orleans. The Succession war was at this moment occupying the attention of the French court; Chanillart, unable to extricate himself from the difficulties of his situation in any other manner, was about to resign his functions as minister of finance; the moment appeared favourable to our projector, and he made offer of his services to the French monarch. But the leading men of the day were totally unable to comprehend the plans of the new financier, and the name of Huguenot was no passport to the royal favour: so that the unexpected result of this negotiation was an order from the intendant of police to quit Paris in twenty-four hours as a state-enemy. Law found himself in a similar predicament at Genoa and Turin, but not before he had pursued his usual run of luck at the gaming-tables in these cities. After visiting several other continental cities, in all of which his fascinating manner procured him admission to the first circles, our adventurer found himself possessed of a tangible fortune of considerably more than £100,000,—the fruits of his skill and success at play. The death of Louis XIV.,—the succession of the duke of Orleans to the regency,—and the deplorable state of the French finances, prompted Law to present himself once more to the attention of the French ministry.

During the war of Succession—now brought to a close—Demarest, who had succeeded Chanillart as comptroller-general, had exhausted every possible means of raising money; he had issued promissory notes under every conceivable name and form,—*Promesses de la caisse des emprunts*, *Billets de Legendre*, *Billets de l'extraordinaire des guerres*, but all without success; the credit of the government was gone, and its *effets* of every description had sunk from seventy to eighty per cent in value. In this extremity, the expedient of a national bankruptcy was proposed to and rejected by the regent, who also refused to give a forced circulation to the royal billets, but appointed a commission to inquire into the claims of the state-creditors. The commission executed its duties with great ability; but after reducing the national debt to its lowest possible form, and providing for the payment of the interest amounting to 80,000,000 of livres, or about one half of the revenue, there hardly remained a sum sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the civil government, and that too, after having had recourse to a measure tantamount, in its effects at least, to a breach of faith, namely, a change in the nominal value of the currency. By the latter scheme, the government foolishly imagined that they would pocket 200,000,000 of livres, but the sum on which they had calculated, only went into the pockets of the Dutch and the clandestine money-dealers. At this critical juncture, Law stepped forward in the full confidence of being yet able to rescue the government from bankruptcy, by the establishment of a well-regulated paper-credit. His first proposal was to establish a national bank, into which was to be transferred all the metallic currency of the nation, which was to be replaced by bank-notes. Law regarded the whole nation as one grand

banking-company, and his reasoning was this:—If a bank may increase the issue of its notes beyond the amount of its funds in bullion, without risking its solvency, a nation may also do the same. But the private fortunes of the individuals of a nation, it is quite evident, can never be held as security for the notes which the sovereign authority may choose to issue; and unless such security is to be found in the resources of the government itself, it is equally clear that a paper-currency might sink in the course of a few months fifty or a hundred per cent below the value of the precious metals, and deprive individuals of half or the whole of their fortunes. Law seems to have regarded *credit* as every thing,—as intrinsic worth,—as specie itself. Still, notwithstanding this capital delusion, the memoirs which he addressed to the regent on the subject, contain many just observations on the peculiar facilities afforded to trade by the existence of a paper-currency: though they failed to remove the doubts of one sapient objector, who thought a paper-currency highly dangerous, on account of its liability to being cut or violently destroyed! The council of finance, however, rejected this scheme. The present conjuncture, they thought, was not favourable for the undertaking; and this reason, added to some particular clauses of the project, determined them to refuse it.

Law next proposed a private bank for the issue of notes, the funds of which should be furnished entirely from his own fortune, and that of others who might be willing to engage with him in the speculation. He represented the disastrous consequences which had resulted from a fluctuating currency, the enormous rate at which discounts were effected, the difficulties in the exchange between Paris and the provinces, and the general want of an increased currency; and succeeded in convincing the regent that these evils might be obviated by the adoption of his plans even in their limited modification. The bank was accordingly established by letters patent, bearing date the 2nd of May, 1716. Its capital was fixed at 1200 shares of 5000 livres each, or about £300,000 sterling. The notes were payable at sight in specie of the same weight and fineness as the money in circulation at the period of their issue; and hence they soon bore a premium above the metallic currency itself, which had been subjected to many violent alterations since 1689. The good faith which the bank observed in its proceedings,—the patronage which it received from the regent,—and the want of private credit, soon procured for it a vast run of business. Had Law confined his attention to this single establishment, he would justly have been considered as one of the greatest benefactors of the country, and the creator of a beautiful system of commercial finance; but the vastness of his own conceptions, his boundless ambition, and the unlimited confidence which the public now reposed in him, suggested more gigantic enterprizes, and led the way to that highly forced and unnatural system of things which eventually entailed ruin upon all connected with it.

Law had always entertained the idea of uniting the operations of banking with those of commerce. Every one knows that nothing can be more hazardous than such an attempt; for the credit of the banker cannot be made to rest upon the uncertain guarantee of commercial speculations. But the French had yet no accurate ideas on this subject. Law's confidence in the resources of his own financial genius was unbounded, and the world at this moment exhibited a theatre of tempting enterprise to a comprehensive mind. The Spaniards had established colonies around the gulf of Mexico,—the English were in possession of Carolina and Virginia,—and the French held the vast province of Canada. Although the coast lands of North America were already colonized, European enterprize had not yet penetrated into the interior of this fertile country; but the chevalier de Lasalle had descended the Mississippi, to the gulf

of Mexico, and, taking possession of the country through which he passed in the name of the French monarch, gave it the appellation of Louisiana. A celebrated merchant of the name of Crozat had obtained the privilege of trading with this newly discovered country, and had attempted, but without success, to establish a colony within it. Law's imagination, however, was fired at the boundless field of enterprise which he conceived was here presented; he talked of its beauty, of its fertility, of the abundance and rarity of its produce, of the richness of its mines outrivalling those of Mexico or Peru,—and in the month of August, 1717, within five months after his embarkation in the scheme of the bank, our projector had placed himself, under the auspices of the regent, at the head of the famous Mississippi scheme, or West Indian company. This company was invested with the full sovereignty of Louisiana, on condition of doing homage for the investiture to the king of France, and presenting a crown of gold, of thirty marcs, to each new monarch of the French empire on his accession to the throne. It was authorised to raise troops, to fit out ships of war, to construct forts, institute tribunals, explore mines, and exercise all other acts of sovereignty. The king made a present to the company of the vessels, forts, and settlements which had been constructed by Crozat, and gave it the monopoly of the beaver trade with Canada for twenty-five years. In December following, the capital of the West Indian company was fixed at 100,000,000 livres, divided into 200,000 shares; and the *billets d'etat*, were taken at their full value from those wishing to purchase shares. Government paper was at this moment vastly depreciated on account of the irregular payment of the interest; but although 500 livres nominal value in the public funds could not have been sold for more than 150 or 160 livres, the *billets d'etat*, by this contrivance, soon rose to par. It was evident that these fictitious funds could not form stock for commercial enterprise; nevertheless, the advance of the government debts to a rate so advantageous to the holders, increased the value of the government securities that remained in circulation, and the depreciated paper rose to full credit with the astonished public, who now began to place implicit confidence in Law's schemes. The council of finance, however, looked with mistrust on these proceedings; and its president, the duke de Noailles gave in his resignation, and was replaced by d'Argenson, a man far less skilled in matters of finance. The jealousy of the parliament, too, was excited by the increasing influence of the Scottish financier, who had been heard imprudently to boast that he would render the court independent of parliamentary supplies. By an *arêt* of the 18th of August, 1717, the parliament attempted to destroy the credit of the notes of the bank, by prohibiting the officers of the revenue from taking them in payment of the taxes; but the regent interposed, and Law was allowed to continue his operations. He, however, encountered another formidable rival in d'Argenson, who now proposed, with the assistance of the four brothers Paris, men of great wealth and influence in the commercial world, to form a company which, with a capital as large as that of the West Indian company, should advance large sums of money secured on the farms, posts, and other branches of the public revenue. This anti-system, as it was called, soon fell to pieces for want of the same energetic and fearless direction which characterized the schemes of its rival.

Law now prevailed on the regent to take the bank under royal guarantee, persuading him that it was quite possible to draw into it the whole circulating specie of the kingdom, and to replace it by the same amount of paper-money. The notes issued by the royal bank, however, did not promise, as those of Law's private establishment had done, to pay in specie of the same weight and fineness as the specie then in circulation, but merely to pay in silver coin. This opened

a door for all the fluctuations which might occur in the real value of the coin called a *livre*, affecting the value of the paper-money. Law was made director-general of the royal bank, which, in a few months, issued 1,000,000,000 of *livres* in new notes; "less," says the royal *arêt*, "not being sufficient for its various operations:" although this sum was more than all the banks of Europe could circulate, keeping good faith with their creditors. The director-general found it extremely difficult to support the credit of such an enormous issue, and for a while hesitated between the plan of insensibly transforming bank-notes into a real paper-money, by giving the latter a decided advantage over specie, which should be kept constantly fluctuating, and by receiving it in payment of the taxes; or of creating a new and apparently lucrative investment for this paper, so as to prevent its returning upon the bank to be exchanged for specie. The latter plan appeared at last the preferable one. A colossal establishment was projected with a capital equal in amount to the public debt. This capital was to be divided into shares, which the regent was to buy with the paper-money that he was to manufacture; he was then to borrow this paper anew to pay the creditors of the state; and then by selling the shares, to retire the paper-money, and thus transfer the creditors of the state to the company.

Accordingly, in May, 1719, the East India company, established by Riche-lieu, in 1664, the affairs of which were then at a very low ebb, was incorporated with that of the West Indies; and the conjoined companies received the name of the Company of the Indies, "with the four quarters of the world to trade in." "Moreover," says the edict issued on this occasion, "beside the 100,000,000 of public debts already subscribed into the Western Company's capital, there shall be a new subscription of 50,000 shares of 550 *livres* each, payable in specie." In a short time, the newly created company engaged, by extending its capital to 624,000 shares, to lend the king the immense sum of 1,600,000,000, at three per cent. interest, and declared itself in a condition to pay a dividend of 200 *livres* upon each share. The public faith being yet unshaken, the shares hereupon rose to 5000 *livres*; and when the king began to pay off the state-creditors with the loan now procured, many not knowing how to employ their capital, a new competition for shares in the great company arose, and shares actually rose in consequence to 10,000 *livres*. The slightest consideration might have served to convince any cool speculator, that the company had come under engagements which, in no circumstances, however prosperous, it could fulfil. How was it possible that the company could raise annually 124,800,000 *livres* for the dividend upon 624,000 shares? Or, supposing it able to make an annual dividend of 200 *livres* a share, still the rate of interest being at this time about four per cent., the shareholder who had bought in at 10,000, thus lost one-half of the revenue he might otherwise have drawn from the employment of his capital. The truth is, the whole scheme was designed for the sole purpose of relieving the state from its debts by the ruin of its creditors; but the immense fortunes which were realized by stock-jobbing at the very outset of the scheme, led on others to engage in the same speculation; splendid fortunes were realized in the course of a single day; men found themselves suddenly exalted as if by the wand of an enchanter, from the lowest station in life to the command of princely fortunes; twelve hundred new equipages appeared on the streets of Paris in the course of six weeks; half a million of people hastened from the country, and even from distant kingdoms to procure shares in the India company; and happy was he who held the greatest number of these bubbles. The negotiations for the sale and purchase of shares were at first carried on in the Rue Quincampoix, where fortunes were made by letting lodgings to the crowds who hastened thither for the purpose of speculating in the stocks. The murder

of a rich stock-jobber, committed here on the 22nd of March, 1720, by a young Flemish nobleman, occasioned the proscription of that street as a place of business, and the transference of the stock-jobbing to the Place Vendome, and finally to the hotel de Soissons, which Law is said to have purchased from the prince of Carignan for the enormous sum of 1,400,000 livres.

Innumerable anecdotes are on record of the extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune which took place during this season of marvellous excitement; footmen stepped from the back to the inside of carriages; cooks appeared at the public places with diamond necklaces; butlers started their berlins; and men educated in poverty and of the lowest rank suddenly exchanged the furniture and utensils of their apartments for the richest articles which the upholsterer and silversmith could furnish. Law himself, now arrived "*summa ad vestigia rerum*," shone super-eminent above all the other attractions of the day; princes, dukes, marshals, prelates, flocked to his levees, and counted themselves fortunate if they could obtain a smile from the great dispenser of fortune's favours; peeresses of France, in the excess of their adulations, lavished compliments upon the Scottish adventurer which set even decency at defiance; his daughter's hand was solicited by princes; and his lady bore herself with hauteur towards the duchesses of the kingdom. Land in the neighbourhood of Paris rose to eighty or a hundred year's purchase; the ell of cloth of fifteen livres sold for fifty; coffee rose from fifty sous to eighteen livres; stock-jobbers were known to treat their guests to green pease at a hundred pistoles the pint; every yard of rich cloth or velvet was bought up for the clothing of the new *élèves* of fortune; and the value of the silver plate manufactured in the course of three months for supplying the demands of the French capital amounted to £7,200,000! The regent, sharing in the general delusion, wished to place the wonderful foreigner at the head of the finances of the kingdom; but then, in addition to his being an alien, he was a protestant also; so l'Abbé de Tencin was charged with the important duty of his conversion, and this ecclesiastic succeeded so well in the task assigned to him, that on the 5th of January, 1720, all obstacles being removed, Law was elevated to the comptroller-generalship of the finances of France, and for some time after his elevation to the premiership, governed France with almost absolute power. Law's fame had now reached its acmé; his native city of Edinburgh hastened to transmit to her illustrious son the freedom of citizenship in a gold box of the value of £300; the earl of Hlay re-published some of his works with an adulatory preface; British noblemen disdained not to pay their court to so successful an adventurer; even the earl of Stair, then the British ambassador at Paris, trembled at the idea of Law's overweening influence in the affairs of France, and viewed his boastful speeches in so serious a light, as to deem them matter of grave communication and advice to his government,—a piece of good faith for which the meritorious and discerning minister met with small thanks.

The great drama, however, which Law was now enacting before the astonished eyes of all Europe, was soon to shift; the glittering bubble on which he had fixed the eyes and expectations of all France was rapidly attenuating to its explosion; the charm by which he had swayed the mind of the million lay not in the rod of the magician, but in the implicit faith which people reposed in the skill and the power of its master,—and, that faith once shaken, the game of delusion was over.

We have said that the shares of the India company had risen to 10,000 livres each in the month of November, 1719. So long as they kept at this elevation, the credit of the bank remained unshaken. Its notes were found so very convenient in conducting the rapid negotiations of the Rue Quincampoix, that they were sought after with avidity, and even bore a premium of ten per

cent. in exchange for specie ! Notwithstanding, however, of the boundless delusion under which men acted at this moment, it could not escape the eyes of the vigilant financier, that a constant and enormous drain of specie was going on, either in the way of exportation to foreign countries, or for the consumption of the jewellers and goldsmiths. To answer the large orders of the wealthy Mississippians, and to guard against a run upon the bank in these circumstances, the master-projector had again recourse to forced measures. Edicts were issued declaring the value of bank-notes to be five per cent. above that of specie, and forbidding the use of silver for the payment of any sum exceeding 100 livres, or of gold in payments exceeding 300 livres. Law thought by these expedients to confine the use of specie to small transactions alone, while those of any magnitude could still be conducted by the fictitious currency which he had called into existence. At the same time, to give a fresh impulse to the stock-jobbing transactions, which had experienced a perceptible decline, he presented himself personally in his ministerial robes, and surrounded by a number of the nobility in the Rue Quincampoix, where his presence instantly excited a lively sensation ; and the report being industriously propagated that new edicts were about to be issued, conferring additional privileges on the great company, the actions which had fallen to 12,000 livres, rose to 15,000. Still the public creditors hesitated to employ the notes now issuing in extinction of their debts in purchasing India stock ; and the enormous sum of 1,000,000,000, remained floating in the form of bank notes, for which no species of investment could be found.

A publication issued at this juncture by Law, under the title of *Lettre à un Créancier*, failed to satisfy their scruples, and actions again fell to 12,000 livres. Meanwhile, specie, in spite of successive depreciations effected upon it at the suggestion of the minister of finance, entirely disappeared ; still the government kept issuing notes to the immense amount of 1,925,000,000, between the 1st of January, and the 20th of May, 1720, and the price of every thing advanced in almost hourly progression. On the 11th of March, a second letter from the minister of finance appeared, in which he employed the most ingenious sophistry in defence of the exaggerated value at which the paper-currency was attempted to be maintained. The choice of a standard value, the great financier contended, was wholly a matter of opinion. To support the value of any article in the opinion of the community, it is only necessary to decline selling it under a certain price. Houses, lands, and other articles of property, have a certain value in the opinion of mankind, just because some people desire to purchase them, and others will not part with them ; but if all the proprietors of houses and land were willing to get rid of their property at one and the same time what value would it have in the market ? It is easy to answer such palpable sophistry as this. Houses and lands are possessions fit for certain purposes which men require ; it is their fitness which constitutes their value ; but in the case of those shares whose value, Law contended, ought to be quite as real as that of any other article of property, it is most evident that they have no value, unless the profit to be derived from commerce in them be not proportioned to the price at which the stock was purchased ; from the moment, in fact, that they cease to become marketable they are stripped of their value. A system supported by such desperate reasoning as Law had here recourse to, must have appeared tottering to its fall in the eyes of every rational man ; the public credit of France was about to give way ; the Atlantean shoulders on which it had been hitherto supported, could no longer prop the mighty burden. Government at last perceived that too great an extension had been given to what Law called *credit*, and that to re-establish the value of paper, it would be necessary

to diminish its amount. On the 21st of May, the death-blow was given to the whole gigantic system of our Scottish projector, by an edict which announced that a progressive reduction of the India company's action, and of bank-notes, was to take place from that day till the 1st of December, when it was declared that the bank-notes should remain fixed at one half of their present value, and the actions at four-ninths. Law, whose influence with the government was now rapidly sinking, or rather was annihilated, felt himself too weak to resist this measure, and actually consented to announce it himself. The public eye was now opened in one instant to the delusion which had been practised upon it, and the next day every one was anxious to get rid of his paper-money at any sacrifice. The catastrophe, though inevitable in the nature of things, was hastened by the artifices of the cardinal Dubois, who used every means to injure Law in the opinion of the regent; and by the irritation of the finance-general, and the parliament of Paris, who regarded the foreign projector as their bitter enemy. The united efforts of such a powerful party appear to have made a deep impression on the mind of the regent, who, in a letter of lord Stair's, dated 12th March, 1720, is represented as abusing the comptroller cruelly to his face, and even threatening him with the Bastile. The same authority informs us that the minister himself was at this period reeling under the weight of that complicated and stupendous system of which he now found himself the prime support and mover. "Law's head is so heated," he writes, "that he does not sleep at nights, and has formal fits of frenzy. He gets out of bed almost every night, and runs stark-staring mad about the room making a terrible noise,—sometimes singing and dancing,—at other times swearing, staring, and stamping, quite out of himself. Some nights ago, his wife, who had come into the room upon the noise he made, was forced to ring the bell for people to come to her assistance. The officer of Law's guard was the first that came, and found Law in his shirt, who had set two chairs in the middle of the room, and was dancing round them quite out of his wits."

The consequences of this rash edict were frightful; the government was upbraided for having been the first to impeach that credit to which it had itself given original existence, and charged with the design to ruin the fortunes of the citizens; seditious and inflammatory libels were posted throughout the streets; the mob assailed the hotels of Law and other members of the cabinet; and even the life of the regent himself was threatened. In this emergency, the parliament assembled on the 27th of May, and terrified at the consequences of their own measures, were about to petition the regent to revoke the unfortunate edict; but while yet deliberating with this purpose, an officer announced to them that the paper had been restored to its former value, by a new proclamation. However, if the first step had been bad, the second was little less weak and unwary. To declare that the actions and billets had resumed their full value, was doing nothing of real consequence to allay the ferment of the public mind; for such a measure was founded on no principle which could operate in the slightest degree to restore to paper-money the confidence it had lost; it was doing nothing to recompense those who had already suffered injury, and it was effectually securing the ruin of all others on whom the valueless paper could now be fixed as a legal tender. And to add to all this confusion and distress, the repositories of the bank were sealed up the same day, under pretence of examining the books, but in reality to prevent the specie from being paid away in exchange for notes. At last, after the first moments of alarm and outrage were over, the regent ventured to resume those expressions of confidence towards Law which he had been compelled to withhold from him for a time; he received him in his own box at the opera, and gave him a guard to

protect his hotel from the insult of the exasperated populace. The infamous Dubois, who had enriched himself by his speculations during the height of the Mississippi madness, now united with Law to expel Argenson from the cabinet; and the regent, whose character though intrepid was not without its weak points, was persuaded at their instigation, to take the seals from his faithful minister, and bestow them upon Agnesseau, who tamely resumed the high office, from which he had been expelled by the very men to whose influence he now beheld himself indebted for his second elevation.

Nothing could now save the system of the great financier; his billets and actions were for ever stripped of their value in the eye of the public; and the most expedient measure that could now be adopted with regard to them, was to withdraw them as promptly as possible from circulation. To demolish in the most prudent manner the vast structure reared by his own labour was now the highest praise to which Law could aspire. By a series of arbitrary financial operations, which it would be tedious here to relate, the public creditors were reduced to the utmost distress, the national debt annihilated, and the whole affairs of the kingdom thrown into the utmost perplexity. "Thus ended," to use the words of Voltaire, "that astonishing game of chance played by an unknown foreigner against a whole nation." Its original success stimulated various individuals to attempt imitations of it,—among which the most famous was the South Sea bubble of England, which entailed disgrace and ruin on many thousands of families. It would be doing injustice to Law's character were we to view him as the sole author of these misfortunes: his views were liberal beyond the spirit of the times in which he lived; he had unquestionably the real commercial interests of his adopted foster-country at heart; he did not proceed on speculation alone; on the contrary, his principles were to a certain degree the very same as those the adoption of which has raised Britain to her present commercial greatness, and given an impulse to trade throughout the world, such as was never witnessed in the transactions of ancient nations. His error lay in over-estimating the strength and breadth of the foundation on which his gigantic superstructure rested. Unquestionably in his cooler moments he never contemplated carrying the principle of public credit to the enormous and fatal length to which he was afterwards driven by circumstances; it was the unbounded confidence of the public mind, prompted by the desire of gain and the miraculous effects of the system in its earliest development,—the enthusiasm of that mind, transported beyond all bounds of moderation and forbearance, by a first success eclipsing its most sanguine expectations, realizing to thousands of individuals the possession of wealth to an amount beyond all that they had ever conceived in imagination,—the contagious example of the first fortunate speculators intoxicated with success, and fired to the most extravagant and presumptuous anticipations, by which men can be lured into acts of blinded infatuation or thoughtless folly,—it was these circumstances we say, over which Law had necessarily little control, that converted his projects into the bane of those for whom they were at first calculated to serve as a wholesome antidote.

Law was in fact more intent on following out his idea than aggrandizing his fortunes. Riches, influence, honours, were showered upon him in the necessity of things; the man who had given birth to the wealth of a whole kingdom, whose schemes had for a while invested all who entered into them with imaginary treasures,—by whose single mind the workings of that complicated engine which had already produced such dazzling results as seemed to justify the most extravagant anticipations of the future, were comprehended and directed,—must have risen during the existence of that national delusion, to the highest pinnacle of personal wealth and influence, and might, though only endowed with

a mere title of the forecasting sagacity of Law, have provided for his retreat, and secured a sufficient competency at least beyond the possibility of loss or hazard, as thousands in fact did upon the strength of his measure. But Law, in deluding others, laboured under still stronger delusion himself; like the fabled Frankenstein, he had created a monster whose power he had not at first calculated, and the measure of which he now found he could not prescribe, and he awaited the result with mingled feelings of hope, fear, and distrust. It was the ignorant interference of others with his own mysterious processes, which finally determined the fatal direction of those energies which he had called into being, and which he might have been able, if not to restrain, at least to direct in another and less ruinous manner. We are far from professing ourselves the unqualified apologists of our enterprising countryman. It was criminal in him to make use of remedies of such a desperate kind as those to which he had recourse when his system began to stagger under its first revulsions; doubtless his temptations were strong, but, invested as he was with authority, it was in his power to have resisted them, and adopted a less empirical mode of treatment. In estimating his moral character, it does not appear to us, that his renouncing protestantism, under the circumstances in which he was placed, ought to weigh much against the uprightness of his intentions. Religion was with him a matter of inferior moment. In his previous life he had manifested no symptoms of piety; an utter stranger to the faith and power of the gospel, protestantism was superior to any other *ism* with him, just in as far as it favoured his worldly policy. He believed himself possessed of means to elevate a whole nation in the scale of wealth and power, with all their attendant benign influences, and to give an impulse by means of the fortunes of France to the destinies of the human species: and is it to be supposed, that this consideration, thrown into the balance, should not have caused that scale in which was placed a mere nominal profession of a religion—the truth of which he neither knew nor respected—to kick the beam?

Before resuming the thread of our biography, let us for a moment compare the financial catastrophe we have now been considering with that of the assignats of revolutionary France, and the celebrated crisis of the bank of England in 1797: we shall discover striking points of resemblance in the circumstances which led to these events, and draw from their comparison a few important truths. Credit is founded on the supposition of future value; it is this prospective value which is made to circulate as if it were existing value, in the form of a bank-note. Law founded his schemes upon the great basis of credit, which again he proposed to create by the profits arising from speculation in the shares of his India company. The financiers of revolutionary France wished to pay the national debt and the expenses of a universal war, with the national funds; but finding it impossible from the want of public confidence, or credit, to sell these funds, they anticipated their sale, and represented their supposed future value by paper-money called *assignats*. The bank of England, in return for its loans to the government, supposed the existence of two species of value, and accepted of these species in payment: the effects themselves, namely, of commerce, and the securities of the state; the former a certain value, and the latter necessarily fluctuating with the political aspect of the times. In these three cases, we perceive three species of doubtful value; Law's share represented a future, but speculative and very uncertain value; the assignats represented certain funds which might ere long pass from under the hands of their present administrators; and the notes of the bank of England represented a value depending upon engagements, regarding the ability of the state to fulfil which there existed no absolute certainty. Now the crisis produced by the fluctuations

of these three species of credit corresponded to the difference of circumstances in the three cases. The sudden displacement of an enormous sum raised the shares of the East India company to an enormous premium ; but a rapidly established credit is exposed to an equally or still more precipitous decline ; for that true credit which is founded on the solid basis of real success, must necessarily be as slow in its growth as the success itself. The assignats again could not experience such a sudden rise in value, for they represented a certain portion of land, a species of value least of all exposed in the nature of things to rapid fluctuation. In proportion, however, as the public confidence in the permanence of the administration declined, the assignats declined in value ; and in proportion as they declined in value, the existing government was compelled to supply the loss of funds by increasing the issue, which again operated to depreciate its paper money. The notes of the bank of England, depending on mercantile credit or the real security of responsible funds, as well as on government security, were only slightly affected in credit by the political aspect of the times. In all the three cases, public credit was attempted to be supported by forcible measures, the injustice of which was just in proportion to the degree of suspicion which attached to that false system of credit which they were designed to support. Law fixed the value of shares in notes, and thus forced a circulation for the latter. The French revolutionary government punished the refusal of its assignats, at their nominal value, with death. In England the bank was relieved of the obligation to cash its notes at sight. Law again endeavours to drive specie altogether out of the market, and render paper the only legal tender ; the revolutionists fix the maximum of all exchange ; and the bank of England, whose security was less questionable, threw itself on the patriotism of the London merchants, who relieved it from its embarrassment by agreeing to accept of its notes in payment from their debtors. Thus we see, *1st*, that every system of public credit ought to represent a certain real value, and not to be founded on mere anticipation of a value yet to be created ; *2ndly*, that it is impossible, by fixed measures, to sustain an arbitrary value ; and, *3rdly*, that where forced values are resorted to, they are rejected by all who are at liberty to reject them, and are followed by the ruin of those who are not in a condition to refuse them.

Law, at his last interview with the duke of Orleans, is reported to have said : “ My lord, I acknowledge that I have committed great faults ; I did so because I am a man, and all men are liable to err ; but I declare to your royal highness that none of them proceeded from knavery, and that nothing of that kind will be found in the whole course of my conduct ; ” a declaration which the regent and the duke of Bourbon bore frank testimony to, at the same time that they suggested the expediency of his leaving the kingdom, for which purpose they offered to supply him with money, his whole property having been confiscated ; but Mr Law, though in possession of only 800 louis d’ors, the wreck of a fortune of 10,000,000 of livres, refused to receive any assistance from other funds than his own, and on the 22nd of December, 1720, arrived at Brussels, where he was received with the greatest respect by the governor and resident nobility. Early in January, 1721, he appeared at Venice, under the name of M. du Jardin, where he is said to have had a conference with the chevalier de St George, and the famous cardinal Alberoni, minister of Spain. From Venice he travelled through Germany to Copenhagen, where he had the honour of an audience with prince Frederick. During his residence at the Danish capital he received an invitation from the British ministry to return to his native country, with which he complied, and was presented on his arrival to George I. by Sir John Norris, the admiral of the Baltic squadron. On the 28th of November he

pleaded at the bar of the king's bench his majesty's pardon for the murder of Edward Wilson, and was attended on this occasion by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Ilay, and several other friends.

Mr Law's re-appearance in Britain excited some uneasy feelings on the part of various senators. The earl of Coningsby, in particular, moved the house of lords for an inquiry, whether Sir John Norris had orders to bring over a person of his dangerous character. The affair, however, was hushed, and it is thought that he at first received some kind of pension or allowance from the British government. Meanwhile, he maintained a constant correspondence with the regent of France, who caused his official salary of 20,000 livres per annum to be regularly remitted to him, and held several consultations with the council respecting the propriety of recalling him. The sudden death, however, of the regent, on the 2nd of December, 1723, was a fatal blow to the reviving hopes of the *ci-devant* minister of finance. His pension ceased to be remitted, his prospect of a reversion from the sale of his property in France was annihilated, his embarrassments at home increased, and demands were made upon him by the India company to the enormous amount of 20,236,375 livres. On the 25th of August, 1724, we find him addressing a letter to the duke of Bourbon, from London, in which he writes :

"Notwithstanding the confusion in which my affairs have become involved, one hour will suffice to put your highness in full acquaintance with them. The subjoined memoir explains by what means I purpose to fulfill my engagements and obtain a livelihood for myself. The means which I suggest are of the very simplest nature. It is likewise the interest of the state that my affairs should be wound up ; for although the number of those who desire my return is not great, their confidence in me is considerable, and must either destroy or retard the success of those measures which have been adopted by those persons to whom the king has been pleased to intrust the management of the finances. If my matters were arranged, madame Law, my daughter, my brother, and his family, would return to England, and I would fix myself here in such a manner as should convince the public that I entertained no intention of ever again setting foot in France.

"Those who have set themselves to oppose me, by retarding the decision in my case, have acted thus upon a mistaken principle altogether, and against their own view of things ; they accuse me of having done the thing which they would have done themselves if they had been in my place ; and in examining into my conduct they are unintentionally doing me a great honour. There are few, perhaps no instances, of a stranger having acquired the unlimited confidence of a prince, and realized a real fortune by means perfectly honourable, and who yet on leaving France reserved nothing for himself and his family, not even the fortune which he had brought into the country with him.

"Your highness knows that I never entertained the idea of making my escape from France. I had made no provision for this purpose when it was announced to me that the regent had ordered me to be provided with passports ; for I had indeed at one time thought of quitting the kingdom, when I requested his royal highness's permission to resign my office ; but after that I had deliberated upon the reasons which the prince then urged against my taking this step, I renounced the idea altogether, although fully aware of the personal danger to which I would expose myself, by remaining in France after having ceased to hold office in the administration.

"I have said that my enemies have advised no measures opposed even to their own principles ; for if what they allege had been true ; if I had carried a great sum of money with me out of the kingdom,—it would surely have been their

truest policy to have induced me to return with my son. If they had acted dispassionately in this matter, they would have afforded me every facility in arranging my affairs; and it is my belief that, had his highness the duke of Orleans lived, I would have been invited back to France. A short time before the prince's death, he was pleased to express his approbation of my conduct; to give me certain marks of his esteem; he was satisfied that my plans would have completely succeeded, if the juncture of extraordinary circumstances had not compelled others to interfere with them; he felt that he yet required my assistance; he asked my opinion regarding the present situation of the kingdom, and he was pleased to say that he yet counted on my aid in raising France to her proper elevation and weight in Europe. These are facts with which I am persuaded your highness was made acquainted by the prince himself."

The late M. Law de Lauriston transmitted to Mr Wood, the biographer of the Comptroller-General, a complete copy of the memorial which accompanied this letter, and of which only some detached fragments are published in the "*Œuvres de J. Law*," Paris, 1790. Mr Wood supplies us with the following passage from this document: "When I retired to *Guermande*," says the memorialist, "I had no hopes that the regent would have permitted me to leave the kingdom; I had given over all thoughts thereof when your highness sent to inform me of his intention to accord that permission; and the next day, immediately on receiving the passports, I set off. Consider, my lord, if being in the country, removed from any paper and books, it were in my power to put in order affairs that required not only leisure, but also my presence in Paris, to arrange properly; and if it is not a piece of great injustice for the India company to wish to take advantage of the condition to which I was reduced; and of the dishonest conduct of clerks, in requiring from me payment of sums I do not in fact owe, and which, even though I had been owing, were, as I have shown, expended for their service, and payable in actions or notes, of which effects belonging to me they at that time had, and still have, on their books, to the amount of double or treble the sum they demand. No, my lord, I cannot bring myself to accuse the company of so much as the intention to injure me. That company owes its birth to me. For them I have sacrificed every thing, even my property and my credit, being now bankrupt, not only in France, but also in all other countries. For them I have sacrificed the interests of my children, whom I tenderly love, and who are deserving of all my affections; these children, courted by the most considerable families in France, are now destitute of fortune and of establishments. I had it in my power to have settled my daughters in marriage in the first houses of Italy, Germany, and England; but I refused all offers of that nature, thinking it inconsistent with my duty to, and my affection for, the state in whose service I had the honour to be engaged. I do not assume to myself any merit from this conduct, and I never so much as spoke upon the subject to the regent. But I cannot help observing, that this mode of behaviour is diametrically opposite to the idea my enemies wish to impute to me; and surely all Europe ought to have a good opinion of my disinterestedness, and of the condition to which I am reduced, since I no longer receive any proposals of marriage for my children.

"My lord, I conducted myself with a still greater degree of delicacy: for I took care not to have my son or my daughter married even in France, although I had the most splendid and advantageous offers of that kind. I did not choose that any part of my protection should be owing to alliances; but that it should depend solely upon the intrinsic merits of my project."

These representations failed to produce the desired effect; the India company refused to allow him credit for the notes and actions in their hands belong-

ing to him, while they at the same time insisted on his making payment in specie of the sums owing to them; the government, with equal injustice, confiscated his whole property in France. In 1725, Mr Law bade a final adieu to Britain, and retired to Venice, where he died in a state little removed from indigence, on the 21st of March, 1729, in the 58th year of his age. He lies buried in one of the churches of the city, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen.

Such is a brief outline of the history of one of the most extraordinary projectors of modern times. That he deceived himself is, we think, quite evident from the whole tenor of his conduct; that he should have deceived others is not wonderful, if we consider the spirit and circumstances of the times in which he lived, the ignorance of the public mind respecting the great principles of credit and currency, and the personal advantages and experience which the master-projector possessed. He is said to have presented an uncommonly engaging external appearance. "*On peut,*" says the French historian of his system, "*sans flatterie, le mettre au rang des hommes les mieux faits.*" In Brunley's Catalogue of British Portraits, four engravings of Law are noticed, by Anglois, Hubert, Des Rochers, and Schmidt. The best portrait of him was a crayon portrait by Rosalba in the earl of Oxford's gallery. Of his moral character we have already spoken. Lockhart of Carnwath relates that, even before he left Scotland, he was "nicely expert in all manner of debaucheries."

Law never composed any treatise; his works are confined to memorials and justificatory statements, or explanations of his views and plans. Towards the end of the year 1790, the epoch of the creation of the assignats, there appeared at Paris an octavo volume, entitled "*Œuvres de J. Law, contrôleur-general des finances de France, sous le regent.*" This work was ably edited by M. Senour, and is in high estimation in France. The writings relating to Law's system are very numerous; Stewart, Ganilh, and Storch, have all commented with ability upon his measures; and Duclos and Marmontel have composed very interesting memoirs of the projector and his system. In general, however, all the French writers of the 18th century have commented with great severity upon Law and his proceedings. Fourbonais was the first to do justice to this great but unfortunate man. Dutot, in his "*Reflexions politiques sur le commerce et les finances,*" printed at the Hague in 1738, has discussed the state of affairs at the giving way of the system, and the effect of the famous edicts of the 5th March and 21st May, with great sagacity; Duverney's "*Histoire du Systeme des finances, sous la minorité de Louis XV., pendant les Années 1719 et 1720,*" is a most valuable collection of edicts and state papers relative to French finances, in two volumes. Mr John Philip Wood's "*Memoir of the Life of John Law of Lauriston*"² is the best account which has yet been given to the British public of this extraordinary man, and the rise and fall of his fortunes.

Law married lady Catharine Knollys, third daughter of Nicholas, third earl of Banbury, by whom he had one son, John Law of Lauriston, and one daughter, Mary Catharine, who married her first cousin, William viscount Wallingford, who was afterwards called to the house of peers by the title of baron Althorp. Lady Wallingford survived her husband more than half a century, and died in London on the 14th of October, 1790, leaving no issue. Her brother succeeded his father in 1729, and died a cornet of the regiment of Nassau Friesland, at Maestricht, in 1734. William Law, third son of Jean Campbell of Lauriston, succeeded to the entail on the extinction of the issue male of her eldest son. His eldest son John, rose to the rank of commandant-general and president of council of the French settlement in India, and died at Paris about 1796;

² Edinburgh, 1824, 12mo, pp. 234.

and on the 21st of May, 1808, Francis John William Law, a merchant in London, was served nearest and legitimate heir of entail and provision, of the reformed religion, of his father John Law, and entered into the possession of the estate of Lauriston, to the exclusion of his elder brothers, who are Roman catholics. The estate now belongs to ——— Allan, Esq. banker, Edinburgh, who has enlarged the ancient house in an appropriate style.

LEIGHTON, ROBERT, bishop of Dunkeld, and remembered as the most amiable of churchmen, was born in 1611, and descended from an ancient and respectable family, who were long in possession of the estate called Ulyshaven, in Forfarshire. Their names are mentioned in several parts of history, and even so far back as Dooms-day Book. In 1424, Dr Henry Leighton, bishop of Moray, and afterwards of Aberdeen, was deputed as one of the commissioners to negotiate for the release of James I., at that time a prisoner in England. The family estate of Ulyshaven was lost to the house of Leighton in the seventeenth century, as they had by that time decayed in wealth and interest.

Dr Alexander Leighton, father of the subject of this memoir, was educated at St Andrews, where he obtained the degree of doctor of divinity. He afterwards went to Leyden and applied himself to the study of physic, and so far succeeded as to graduate there. The Scottish church at Utrecht being in want of a minister, and he being, according to all accounts, a man of great piety and learning, the charge was offered to him, which he accepted, and he continued to officiate there for some time; but not approving of the holidays observed by the Dutch church, and having some difference on the subject, he finally resigned. He was there styled doctor of medicine and Scottish minister. We shall compress, in the shortest limits possible, the most prominent actions of this man's eventful life, as his name is conspicuous in history from the cruel persecution he was subject to.

On his arrival in London from Holland, he saw with grief and indignation that the presbyterian church, of which he was a stern defender, was likely to be subverted in Scotland, through the policy of Charles I. and his ministers—and being a man, according to Burnet, “of much untempered zeal,” and fond of polemics, he published several tracts against episcopacy, which gave great offence to the members of that religion. He, at this time, intended to commence the medical profession in London; but the College of Physicians interdicted him from practice within seven miles of the city, as a person they considered disgraceful to their profession; an allegation he disputed and disproved, by claiming a right, in virtue of his having graduated in the college of Leyden. They did not deny his being a clergyman; but at that time he had no living. He soon after this drew down upon himself the vengeance of that tyrannical and unconstitutional court, the star-chamber. The work for which he was prosecuted, according to Burnet, is entitled “*Zion's Plea against Prelates* ;” the name of the author and printer were omitted, and instead of the date of publication, the following words were added—“*Printed the year and moneth wherein Rochelle was lost*,”—evidently intended as a stigma for that city being allowed to be taken by the French catholics from the protestants in 1628; an event which it was well known Charles might have prevented, if he had had the interests of protestantism really at heart. There was also prefixed to this work—which it appears was printed in Holland—a hieroglyphical vignette, seemingly designed to recommend the subversion of prelacy. This is described in the informations by Rushworth, “as a most seditious scandal upon the king, state, and kingdom, wickedly affirming that all that pass us spoil us, and we spoil all that rely upon us, and amongst the rest the black pining death of the famished Rochelles, to the number of 15,000 in four months; by which passages he did,

so much as in him lay, scandal his majesty's person, his religious wife, and just government, especially the reverend bishops." Soon after this offensive work was put into circulation, Dr Leighton was arrested by a warrant from the high commission court, and committed to Newgate, where he was confined for fifteen weeks in a loathsome cell full of vermin, without a bed to rest upon, and openly exposed to the inclemency of the weather: none of his family or friends were permitted to see him; and in the mean time his house was forcibly entered, and not only his books and papers, but every article of furniture carried away.

The cause was tried on the 4th of June, 1630. The defendant, in his answer, owned the writing of the book, but denied all intention of evil, his end being only to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people suffered, to the end that parliament might take them into consideration, and to give such redress as might be for the honour of the king, the quiet of the people, and the peace of the church. Nevertheless, the court adjudged unanimously, that for this offence the doctor should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; that the high commission should degrade him from his ministry, and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting, and be whipped; after whipping, be set in the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, and one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S., for *sower of sedition*; that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days, be pilloried a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his life;" a sentence only to be compared with the worst acts of the infernal inquisition of Spain. Archbishop Laud, on hearing the unfortunate man condemned, pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, gave thanks to God who had given him the victory over his enemies. This barbarous sentence being given towards the end of Trinity term, and the court not usually sitting after the term unless upon emergent occasions, and it requiring some time in the ecclesiastical court in order to the degradation of the defendant, it was Michaelmas following before any part of the sentence could be put in execution. On the 10th of November he was to have undergone the punishment awarded to him; however, the night before he contrived, with the assistance of one Livingston and Anderson, to effect his escape. A hue and cry was immediately issued by order of the privy council, ordering his apprehension, which described him as a man of low stature, fair complexion, high forehead, and yellowish beard, about forty or fifty years of age. He scarcely was at large one week when he was seized in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet. Rushworth, in his Historical Collections, says, "On Friday, the sixteenth of November, part of the sentence on Dr Leighton was executed upon him in this manner, in the new palace at Westminster. He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, was branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron with the letters S. S., *sower of sedition*, and afterwards carried back again, prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close custody. And on that day seven night, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face, not being cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek." His unfortunate companions, who aided him to escape, were also brought before the Star-Chamber, and out of respect to their "penitency" they were only fined five hundred pounds each, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure.

In that vile prison, in a filthy, dark, and unwholesome dungeon, the unhappy Leighton was incarcerated for upwards of eleven years, without once being suffered to breathe in the open air; and when at length released from his miserable confinement, he could neither walk, see, nor hear. His release was only effected when the sitting of the Long Parliament had changed the state of things in England. "At the reading of his petition in the house of commons," says Brook, "giving an account of the dreadful barbarity with which he had been treated, the members were so deeply moved and affected, that they could not bear to hear it without several interruptions with floods of tears." A committee was appointed to investigate his case, and the result was, as might be expected, the exposure of one of the most unconstitutional and horrible pieces of barbarity that ever stained a nation's annals. The whole proceedings were declared illegal, and reversed, and "good satisfaction and reparation were ordered to be made to him for his great sufferings and damages." Six thousand pounds were voted on his account; but it is very uncertain in those distracted times if he ever received it.

In 1642, Lambeth house was converted into a prison, and he was made keeper of it, on account, it is said, of his knowledge of the medical profession. He did not survive this unworthy appointment long, and the wonder only is, how human nature could have borne up against such dreadful inflictions as he had endured.

ROBERT LEIGHTON, some time bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards archbishop of Glasgow, son to the preceding, and the proper subject of this memoir, was, according to Pearson, in a late edition of his works, born in Edinburgh, and received his education at that university, which he entered as a student in 1627. From his earliest years he was conspicuous for exemplary piety, and an humble disposition; with talents of the rarest description, and a happy facility of acquiring a knowledge of languages. He was, above all, fond of studying the Scriptures, and was profoundly skilled in every branch of theological learning. Two of the masters at that time in the university whose classes he attended, namely Robert Rankin, professor of philosophy, and James Fairley, professor of divinity, were strongly in favour of episcopacy; the latter having afterwards become bishop of Argyle. It is more than probable that their opinions, being early imbibed by Leighton, continued in after-life to exercise a considerable influence over him. This may in a great degree serve to explain why he seceded from the presbyterian church. He became master of arts in 1631, and having by that time completed his course of academical studies, he was sent abroad for further improvement, and took up his residence at Douay in France, where some of his relations lived. There he formed an intimacy with many of the best educated of the Roman catholic gentlemen who were attending the college, and being naturally fond of exploring every system of ecclesiastical polity, where he found men of worth adhering to forms of religion even at variance with his own, he loved them in Christian charity for the virtue they possessed, and thought less rigidly of their doctrine. While in France, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the language, which he spoke with all the fluency of the most polished native. It is impossible to ascertain how he passed the intermediate ten years from the time he went to Douay. All we can gather with certainty is, that in 1641, on his return from the continent, and immediately after the triumph of presbytery in Scotland, he was, at the age of thirty, and in the very year of his father's liberation from his cruel confinement, settled as presbyterian minister in the parish of Newbattle, in the county of Edinburgh. There he was most unremitting in the sacred duties of his office, preaching peace and goodwill amongst all men, carefully avoiding to mix or interfere with the distractions

of that stormy period, when the pulpit was made the vehicle of political disputes. It being the custom of the presbytery to inquire of the brethren twice a year, whether they had preached to the *times* ; “ For God’s sake,” answered Leighton, “ when all my brethren preach to the *times*, suffer one poor priest to preach about *eternity*.” This moderation could not fail to give offence : the fact is, he seems to have regarded their sectarian disputes as trivial in comparison with the high and sacred duties he felt himself called upon to perform in his holy office. He seldom or never attended the meetings of the Presbytery, but chose rather to live in strict retirement, alive only to the care of his own parish, the perfect specimen of a faithful and zealous teacher. Of all the accounts of this eminent divine there is none so strictly correct as that left on record by his friend and illustrious contemporary, bishop Burnet, which we shall here quote in full, as we are persuaded that nothing could be given, either so entertaining or so full of information.

“ Robert, eldest son of Dr Leighton, was bred in Scotland, and was accounted a saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest Latin I ever knew in any man ; he was master of both Greek and Hebrew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and boldest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man ; he had no regard for his person, unless it was to mortify it, by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had both a contempt of wealth and reputation : he seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himself. He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in the course of twenty years of intimate conversation with him, I never observed the least sign of passion but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile ; and he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do not remember that I ever heard him say one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with to serious reflections. He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation ; and, though the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest from superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible ; so that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said there was a diversity of tempers, and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and surprising, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together, in his memory, the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as Christians, that I have ever known any man master of, and he used them in the adeptest manner possible. He had been bred up with the greatest aversion possible to the whole frame of the church of England. From Scotland his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in France, and spoke the language like one born there. He came afterwards and settled in Scotland, and had the presbyterian ordination ; but he quickly bore through the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronounciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion ; I am sure I never did. His style was rather too fine ; but there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the

sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago ; and yet with this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had the cure, he was ready to employ all others, and when he was a bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice before hand. He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great crowd. He soon came to see into the follies of the presbyterians, and to dislike their covenant, particularly their imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts ; theirs were narrow as their tempers were sour ; so he grew weary of mixing with them. He scarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish at Newbattle, near Edinburgh. Yet all the opposition that he made to them was, that he preached up a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature ; but his own practice did outshine his doctrine.

“ In the year 1648, he declared himself for the engagement for the king. But the earl of Lothian, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him, that he persuaded the violent men not to meddle with him, though he gave occasion to great exception ; for when some of his parish who had been in the engagement were ordered to make public profession of their repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition in which he believed they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injustice and violence, of drunkenness, and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of these seriously, without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entered into a great correspondence with many of the episcopal party, and with my own father in particular, and did wholly separate himself from the presbyterians. At last he left them, and withdrew from his cure, for he could not do the things imposed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention so much, that he chose rather to leave them in a silent manner, than to engage in any disputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a saint, and of something above human nature in him ; so the mastership of the Edinburgh college falling vacant some time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he was prevailed on to accept it, because in it he was wholly separated from all church matters. He continued ten years in that post, and was a great blessing in it ; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had a great effect upon them. He preached often to them, and if crowds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in Latin, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in Scotland, in the highest reputation that any man in my time ever had in the kingdom. He had a brother well known at court, Sir Elisha, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts ; but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined. For though he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a papist of a form of his own ; but he had changed his religion to raise himself at court, for he was at that time secretary to the duke of York, and was very intimate with lord Aubigny, a brother of the duke of Richmond's, who had changed his religion, and was a priest, and had probably been a cardinal if he had lived longer. He maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions than men of quality who enter into the church generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man ; and that perhaps made him the more considered by the king [Charles II.], who loved and trusted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the king ; for he was in the secret as to his religion, and was more trusted with the whole designs that were then managed in order to establish it, than any man whatsoever. Sir Elisha brought his brother

and him acquainted; for Leighton loved to know men in all the varieties of religion. In the vacation time he made excursions, and came often to London, where he observed all the eminent men in Cromwell's court, and in the several parties then about the city of London; but he told me that they were men of unquiet and meddling tempers; and that their discourses were very dry and unsavoury, full of airy cant or of bombast swellings. Sometimes he went over to Flanders to see what he could find in the several orders of the church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius's followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much set. He thought controversies had been too much insisted upon, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raising himself at court, fancied that his being made a bishop might render himself more considerable; so he possessed lord Aubigny with such an opinion of him, that he made the king apprehend that a man of his piety and his notions, (and his not being married was not forgot,) might contribute to carry on their designs. He fancied such a monastic man, who had a great stretch of thought and so many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at least to prepare the nation for popery, if he did not directly come over to them, for his brother did not stick to say, he was sure that lay at the root with him. So the king named him of his own proper motion, which gave all those who began to suspect the king himself great jealousies of him. Leighton was averse to this promotion as much as possible. His brother had great power over him, for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a show of piety. He seemed to be a papist rather in name and show than in reality, of which I will set down one instance that was then much talked of. Some of the church of England loved to magnify the sacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real presence, only blaming the church of Rome for defining the manner of it, saying Christ was present in the most inconceivable manner. This was so much the mode that the king and all the court went into it; so the king, upon some raillery about transubstantiation, asked Sir Elisha if he believed it. He answered he could not well tell, but he was sure the church of England believed it; and when the king seemed amazed at that, he replied, do you not believe that Christ is present in the most inconceivable manner, which the king granted. Then said he, that is just transubstantiation, the most inconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When Leighton was prevailed upon to accept a bishopric, he chose Dunblane, a small diocese as well as a little revenue. But the deanery of the chapel royal was annexed to that see. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the common prayer in the king's chapel, for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The English clergy were well pleased with him, finding him both more learned and more thoroughly versed in the other points of uniformity than the rest of the Scottish clergy, whom they could not much value; and though Sheldon did not much like his great strictness, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought such a man as he was might give credit to episcopacy, in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it. Sharpe did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his strictness of life nor his notions. He believed they would not take the same methods, and fancied he might be much obscured by him, for he saw he would be well supported. He saw the earl of Lauderdale began to magnify him, and so Sharpe did all he could to discourage him, but without any effect, for he had no regard to him. I bear still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person, and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate conversation with him,

that continued to his death, for twenty-three years, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day, in a most particular manner; and yet, though I know this account of his promotion may seem a blemish upon him, I would not conceal it, being resolved to write of all persons and things with all possible candour. I had the relation of it from himself, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes soever the papists had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the design of bringing in popery, and had therefore talked of some points of popery with the freedom of an abstracted or speculative man; yet he expressed another sense of the matter, when he came to see it was really to be brought in amongst us. He then spoke of popery in the complex at much another rate; and he seemed to have more zeal against it than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controversy, for his abstraction made him seem cold in all these matters. But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion that had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual, and devilish; but had nothing in it of the wisdom that is from above, and is pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that church under those just and visible prejudices but the several orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the work that was among them, maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and that course of life free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved; so that the protestant churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's character, but it was so singular that it seemed to deserve it; and I was so singularly blessed by knowing him as I did, that I am sure he deserved it of me, that I should give so full a view of him, which I hope may be of some use to the world."

Leighton remained ten years principal of the college of Edinburgh, where he conducted himself with a degree of diligence, wisdom, and prudence, that engaged universal respect and esteem, and proved of essential benefit to the students. The funds of that seminary were then very low, and Leighton did not scruple to go to London to appeal to the generosity of Cromwell in favour of his object. That extraordinary man ordered an annuity of two hundred pounds a year to be granted in 1658, a sum that at the time was of considerable use; but on the death of the Protector, which took place shortly after, it fell to the ground, as all his acts were rescinded at the Restoration. The state of the presbyterian church in Scotland when Charles the Second ascended the throne was extremely critical—betrayed by its own ministers, and secretly hated by the king, who had sworn to defend its rights. James Sharpe, who was commissioned to go to London to defend the rights of the Scottish church, was a man capable of any duplicity or baseness that would in the main advance his own interests, while his communications with his brethren at home were lying and deceitful. He had the effrontery to impress on the minds of the court that the people of Scotland were at heart unfriendly to presbytery, and secretly attached to episcopacy. However Charles may have doubted the truth of such an account, he was glad to avail himself of Sharpe's duplicity to give ascendancy to prelacy; and notwithstanding the memorials and remonstrances from the Scottish church, and the interference of men of rank and importance, he determined on the re-establishment of a hierarchy in Scotland.

Sharpe, as a reward for his perfidious apostasy, was to be elevated to the

primacy. He had the recommendation also of other persons to fill the different vacant sees ; but Leighton was the last man he would ever have thought of pointing out, as he shrunk from approaching a character so upright and virtuous, in every way superior to himself. But Sir Elisha Leighton, already referred to by Burnet, having an eye to his own interests, considered that by having a brother, over whom he had already gained some ascendancy, high in the church, much might be expected. As he affected to be strongly attached to popery to please the duke of York, whose secretary he was, he vainly thought, as his relative was on many occasions known to evince a great respect for some good men connected with the church of Rome, that in time he might be gained over to promote and adopt that faith. Blinded by selfish ambition, he was incapable of perceiving, like the illustrious Burnet, that of all men Leighton was the least likely to favour a religion which he characterized as "earthly, sensual, and devilish, with nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable." Indeed it was a matter of considerable difficulty, as it will appear, to prevail upon him to join the episcopalians. The king, though pleased at finding Sharpe and others subservient in all points to his wishes, still he knew their characters must stand degraded in the eyes of the people, as they were men neither of piety nor moderation, and that it would be, above all, necessary to strengthen their ranks by those who stood high and worthy in the eyes of the world ; for this reason he personally solicited Leighton to accept of a mitre.

The earl of Lauderdale, and his brother, and some of the most moderate and respectable of his countrymen, exerted themselves to gain the same result, but all seemed of no avail. Leighton still refused, as he evidently mistrusted the men to whom the government of the new church was to be intrusted, and he could not but see the methods they resorted to were violent and repugnant to the principles and desires of the people of Scotland. "It was at last mentioned to him, that the king had issued positive orders for him to yield, unless in fact he regarded the episcopal office as unwarrantable." To that extreme he would not go, as he all along was favourable to that order, if divested of its useless pomp.

He was at length persuaded that a regard to the interests of the church rendered it his duty to accept it ; but in order to demonstrate to the world that avarice was not his principle, he made choice of Dunblane, as of small extent and little revenue. He was consecrated with Sharpe and two other Scottish bishops at the Abbey church of Westminster, which occasion was celebrated with great feasting and pomp. Leighton could not help remarking, "that it had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety as became the new modelling of a church." It is with considerable hesitation we are obliged to remark, that in this instance the character of Leighton exhibits another melancholy proof of the want of stability and perfection in the nature of man. Admitting that his reason for joining the episcopal church, was with the virtuous intention of softening down the asperities of two rival systems, which had long struggled for ascendancy ; yet the time was unseasonable, when selfish and bad men were endeavouring, by all crooked means, to build their fortunes on the ruin of their country and their shameful apostasy. He was induced, too, to lend the weight of his virtuous name in countenancing the acts of a reckless and unprincipled tyrant, who was bent on the total subversion of those forms of religion connected with his earliest associations, and in whose defence his father had almost suffered martyrdom. That he was free from all interested motives every one must admit ; and in justice to the character of one so pious, we shall give the following extract of a letter written by him in reference to his appointment :—"There is in

this preferment something that would allow of reconciling the devout on different sides, and of enlarging those good souls you meet with from their little fetters, though possibly with little success. Yet the design is commendable,—pardonable at least. However, one comfort I have, that in what is pressed on me, there is the least of my own choice; yea, on the contrary, the strongest aversion that I ever had to any thing in all my life; the difficulty, in short, lies in a necessity of either owning a scruple, which I have not, or the rudest disobedience to the authority that may be. The truth is, I am yet importuning and struggling for a liberation, and look upward for it; but whatever be the issue, I look beyond it and this weary, weary, wretched world, through which the hand I have resigned to, I trust, will lead me into the path of his own choosing: and, so I may please him, I am satisfied. I hope if ever we meet, you shall find me in the love of solitude and a devout life.”¹

He lost no time in endeavouring to persuade Sharpe to join with him in some moderate plan, founded on archbishop Usher’s scheme, for uniting the presbyterians and episcopalians, but to his astonishment he found him unwilling even to talk on the subject. He and the other newly made bishops seemed only anxious to get possession of their sees. This circumstance was discouraging to Leighton, who soon perceived that such men were not designed by providence to build up the church. Soon after their consecration, the Scottish bishops went down to Scotland in one coach; but when they came to Morpeth, finding that they intended to be received at Edinburgh with pomp and ostentation, Leighton parted company from them, and arrived at the capital some days before them. He would not even have the title of lord given to him by his friends, and was not easy when others used it in addressing him. Leighton soon perceived with deep regret, that the government was resolved to enforce conformity on the presbyterians by severe means. He laboured all in his power to show the impolicy of such proceedings, and in the session of parliament in April, 1662, when the ministers to whom the oath of allegiance and supremacy was tendered, consented to take it with an explanation, which they presented to the house, he pleaded strenuously that it might be accepted, and insisted that the conditions asked by the presbyterians were just, and should in reason be granted. Sharpe, with his usual vehemence answered, that it was below the dignity of government to make acts to satisfy the scruples of peevish men, and “that it ill became those who had imposed their covenant on all people, without any explication, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favours.”—“For that very reason,” replied Leighton, “it ought to be done, that all people may see the difference between the mild proceedings of the government and their rivals; and that it ill became the very same persons who had complained of that, now to practise it themselves, for thus, it may be said, the world goes mad at times.” But the voice of violence prevailed; the Scottish bishops were entitled to a seat in parliament on their consecration, and were one and all invited to avail themselves of the privilege. Leighton was the only one that declined the honour. He retired to his see, and resolved never to appear in parliament unless the interests of religion were called in question, or by his presence he might assist it. In his own diocese he set a bright example to his brethren, by practising the moderation which he recommended. He studied to make his clergymen a well-informed, serious, and useful body of men; and he even tolerated the preaching of non-conforming ministers in districts where the people were particularly attached to them. He continued a private and ascetic course of life, and gave all his income, except the little he expended on his own person, to the poor. By these means he became generally

¹ Pearson ut supra, p. 43.

beloved through his diocese, and even softened down the feelings of those who were most adverse to episcopacy.

In the year 1665, the proceedings in Scotland by the ecclesiastical high commission were so severe and illegal, that Leighton was prevailed on to go to court, and lay before the king a true account of them. On this occasion he assured his majesty that the measures which Sharpe and other members of the court pursued, were so violent, "that he could not concur in planting of the Christian religion itself in such a manner, much less a form of government. He therefore entreated leave to quit his bishopric, and to retire, for he thought he was in some sort accessory to the violence of others." The king seemed to be deeply affected with the complaints of the worthy prelate, and issued an order in council for discontinuing the ecclesiastical commission, and less rigorous measures were promised to be pursued with respect to Scotland; but the king would not hear of Leighton's resigning his see. Deceived by the specious conduct of Charles on this interview, and perhaps aware that if he retired he would lose all authority, or chance of standing between the people of Scotland and persecution, he returned to his see, and resumed the charge of his sacred functions. It is almost needless to add, that no reliance could be placed on the promise of protection from so deceitful a monarch. Matters in Scotland were driven to such dreadful extremities by the base and tyrannical authorities, that it was impossible to bear up much longer against them.

In 1667, Leighton was once more prevailed on to go to London, where he laid before the king the outrageous conduct of the former administrations of church affairs, and implored him to adopt more moderate councils; in particular, he proposed a comprehension of the presbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by such abatements as might preserve the whole for the future, by giving a little for the present. This audience had the good effect of inducing the king to write a letter to the privy council, ordering them to indulge such of the presbyterians as were moderate and loyal, so far as to suffer them to serve in vacant churches; though they did not submit to the ecclesiastical establishment. This small indulgence enraged the episcopal party in Scotland; they thought it illegal and fatal to the interests of the church, and directed an address to be drawn up expressive of their sentiments, though they did not venture to present it. A copy, however, was privately sent up to the court, and drew down the king's resentment on the head of the archbishop of Glasgow. When parliament assembled, an act was obtained, a clause of which declared the settling of all things relating to the external government of the church, to be the right of the crown. This clause, Leighton informed Burnet, was surreptitiously inserted after the draught and form of the act was agreed upon, and was generally thought to be the work of Lauderdale. Such a fearful stretch of the prerogative alarmed both episcopalians and presbyterians; the former said it assimilated the king to a pope; the latter, that it placed him in Christ's stead. The archbishop of Glasgow thought it prudent immediately to resign his see, as he dreaded the coming storm, and knew he had no other chance of escaping its vengeance. Lauderdale and Lord Tweeddale fixed upon Leighton, and immediately offered to have him promoted to that high dignity; but, though eagerly solicited by these noble lords, he respectfully declined the appointment. The king at last sent for him, and promised that he should be backed by the assistance of the court, in his endeavours to accomplish his long-meditated and favourite scheme of a comprehension of the presbyterians. He was at length persuaded to comply, and in 1670, he, without removing from Dunblane, undertook the administration of the see of Glasgow; nor was he at all willing to be consecrated arch-

ishop until a year after. The plan of accommodation between the episcopalians and presbyterians, the particulars of which may be seen in Burnet's history, was, by the king's directions, limited to certain instructions, by which Lauderdale was empowered to embody the concessions that were to be offered into laws. Encouraged even by this support, Leighton had frequent conferences with some of the most eminent presbyterian ministers, but in vain; he found it impossible to gain them over even to the most moderate form of episcopacy. It is evident the presbyterians mistrusted the overture in question, and looked upon it as a snare to lull their vigilance; and they had already too many deceitful examples in a former reign to think that the friends of prelacy were now either more humane or honourable. The result of these negotiations grieved Leighton very much, while they delighted Sharpe and all of the same party, to whom every thing like liberality or concession in favour of peace and religion were alike unknown or despised. They even went so far as to hint, in very intelligible terms, that under the mask of moderation, he was secretly undermining their cause. Being thus unhappily situated, and despairing of being able to carry his great designs of healing the divisions and reforming the abuses in the church, he resolved to relinquish his see, and retire into seclusion. He said "that his work seemed to be at an end, and that he had no more to do, unless he had a mind to please himself with the lazy enjoying of a good revenue." His friend, Dr Burnet, endeavoured all in his power to make him give up this idea, but all to no purpose; the good man was resolute. He repaired to London, and after much difficulty obtained the king's reluctant consent to his resignation, on condition that he would remain in office for another year. The court thought it possible in the interval that he might be gained over to remain and assist a cause fast falling into hatred and contempt, by his pious and venerable name. He returned "much pleased with what he had obtained, and said to Dr Burnet upon it, that there was now but one uneasy stage between him and rest, and he would wrestle through it the best he could." He continued to perform his duties with the same zeal as before, and at the end of the year 1673, he hastened to London, and tendered his resignation, and was succeeded by the former possessor of the see, Dr Alexander Burnet.² After residing for some time in the college of Edinburgh, where he had long been principal, amongst a set of select friends,

¹ The following paper has been left by Leighton for the purpose of explaining his reasons for resigning the see of Glasgow. It has been preserved in the university of Edinburgh, over which he so long and ably presided.

"Whatsoever others may judge, they that know what past before my engaging in this charge, will not (I believe,) impute my retreat from it from levitie or unfixedness of mind, considering how often I declared before hand, both by word and write, the great suspicion I had that my continuance in it would be very short; neither is it from any sudden passion or sullen discontent that I have now resigned it; nor do I know any cause imaginable for any such thing, but the true reasons of my retiring are plainly and briefly these:

"1. The sense I have of the dreadful weight of whatsoever charge of souls, and all kinds of spiritual inspection over people; but much more over ministers; and withall of my own extreme unworthiness and unfitness for so high a station in the church; and there is an episcopal act that is above all the rest most formidable to me—the ordaining of ministers.

"2. The continuing and deeply increasing divisions and contentions, and many other disorders of the church, and the little or no appearance of their cure for our time, and the little hope, amidst those contentions and disorders, of doing any thing in this station to promote the great design of religion in the hearts and lives of men, which were the only worthy reasons of continuing in it, though it were with much pains and reluctance.

"3. The earnest desire I have long had of a retired and private life, which is now much increased by sicklyiness and old age drawing on, and the sufficient experience I have of the folly and vanity of the world.

"To add any farther discourse, a large apologie in this matter were to no purpose; but instead of removing other mistakes and misconstructions, would be apt to expose me to one more, for it would look like too much valuing either of myself or of the world's opinion, both of which I think I have so much reason to despise."—*Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. App. No. 6.

equally distinguished for their learning and piety, he removed to Broadhurst, an estate in Sussex belonging to his sister Mrs Lightwater, for whom he entertained the strongest affection. Here he lived ten years, occupied in study, meditation, and prayer, and doing all the good in his power. He distributed through the hands of other persons whatever he possessed beyond the means of subsistence,—so unostentatious was he in his charity. He was in every instance through life most generous in pecuniary matters. When principal of the college of Edinburgh he presented the city with £150, the income of which was destined for the support of a student in philosophy. The college of Glasgow is also indebted to him for two bursaries, or for a sum the interest of which is to be appropriated to support two students. On the hospital of St Nicholas, Glasgow, he bestowed £150, the proceeds of which were to be given to two poor men of good character. Three such persons are now enjoying the benefit of that sum, which yields £4, 10s. annually to each of them. This forms but a short specimen of the good works he performed during his long and valuable life.

Five years after he had retired from the business of active life, he was surprised and alarmed at receiving from his sovereign the following epistle :

Windsor, July 16, 1679.

MY LORD,—I am now resolved to try what clemency can prevail upon such in Scotland as will not conform to the government of the church there; for effecting of which design I desire you may go down to Scotland with your first convenience, and take all possible pains for persuading all you can of both opinions to as much mutual correspondence and concord as may be; and send me from time to time, characters of both men and things. In order to this design I shall send you a precept for two hundred pounds sterling upon my exchequer, till you resolve how to serve me in a stated employment. Your loving friend,

CHARLES R.

For the Bishop of Dumblane.

Leighton was now in his sixty-eighth year; and however flattering such a notice might be to a mind of an inferior grade, to his, which was exclusively bent on preparing for a heavenly kingdom, it gave only pain and apprehension. What were the vain disputes of angry men to him? besides, he could have little or no hopes in succeeding in the mission. He was saved, however, the trouble of trying the experiment, as the duke of Monmouth, with whom the humane plan originated, fell into discredit, and the offer made to Leighton was never again renewed. This was the only serious interruption he met with in his retirement. Burnet saw him two years after, and says, “I was amazed to see him at above seventy look so fresh and well, that age seemed as it were to stand still with him. His hair was still black, and all his motions were lively; he had the same quickness of thought, and strength of memory; but above all, the same heat and life of devotion that I had ever seen him in.”—“When I took notice to him,” continues this celebrated writer, “upon my first seeing him, how well he looked, he told me he was very near his end for all that, and his work and journey were now almost done. This at the time made no great impression on me. He was next day taken with an oppression, and it seemed with cold and with stitches, which was indeed a pleurisy.” This disease he foretold was doomed to be his last; he grew so suddenly ill, that speech and sense almost immediately left him; and in twelve hours after the first attack, he breathed his last, without a struggle, in the arms of his long-revered and faithful friend Dr Burnet, on the 26th June, 1684, at the advanced age of seventy-four. The place in which his pure spirit departed from its earthly tenement was an inn in Warwick Lane, London; and it is somewhat singular that he often used to say, that if he had

the power to choose a place to breathe his last in, it would be an inn. "It looked," he said, "like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all an inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion of it." He thought, too, that the distress of friends and relations at the time of death were apt to withdraw the mind from serious thoughts; to keep it from being wholly directed to God. He bequeathed his books to the cathedral of Dumblane, and the residue of his limited fortune to his sister, Mrs Lightwater, and her son, to be distributed as they thought fit to charitable purposes. After the character already given of him by his friend Burnet, it would be superfluous to add any thing here.³

His body was interred in the burial ground of Horstead Heynes, in the parish which for ten years had been honoured by his residence. A simple inscription marks the spot where his remains are laid.⁴ The family of his sister is now extinct, and the estate is in the hands of another. His brother Sir Elisha, it may be here stated, died a few months before him, and was interred in the same place.

LESLIE, ALEXANDER, the celebrated military leader of the covenanters, during the civil wars of Charles I., created lord Balgonie, and afterwards earl of Leven, was the son of captain George Leslie of Balgonie, by his wife Anne, a daughter of Stewart of Ballechin. Of the place of his birth, or the extent of his education, little can be said with certainty. Spalding says, he was born in Balveny, which Gordon of Straloch affirms was never possessed by the Leslies, and, of course, according to him, could not be the place of his birth. This, he supposes to have been Tullich, which lies over against Balveny, on the east side of the water of Fiddich; or, perhaps, Kininvie, which lies a mile to the north of Tullich, on the same water of Fiddich. Gordon adds, that he "was a natural son of Kininvie's, and that his mother, during her pregnancy, could eat nothing but wheat bread, and drink nothing but wine, which Kininvie allowed her to be provided with, although she was nothing but a common servant." There is, however, much reason to suppose that this account of his birth is only a cavalier fiction.

Educated for the military profession, Leslie very early in life obtained a captain's commission in the regiment of Horatio lord de Vere, then employed in Holland as auxiliaries to the Dutch in fighting for their liberties against the overwhelming power of Spain. In this service he acquitted himself with singular bravery, and obtained the reputation of a skilful officer. He afterwards, along with many thousands of his countrymen, passed into the service of Sweden, under Gustavus Adolphus, by whom, after many heroic achievements, he was promoted to the rank of field-marshal with the approbation of the whole army.

In the year 1628, he defended Stralsund, which was besieged by the whole force of the Imperialists, at that time masters of all Germany, that fortress excepted. Here he acquitted himself with the utmost bravery and skill. The plague had already broken out in the city, and the outworks were in a most deplorable condition; yet he compelled count Wallenstein, with a formidable army and flushed with victory, to raise the siege, after having sustained a severe loss. The citizens of Stralsund were so sensible of the services of the field-marshal, on

³ The writings of archbishop Leighton are thus enumerated in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*:—"Sermons, London, 1692, 4to. *Prelectiones Theologicæ*, 1693, 4to. A Practical Commentary on the two first chapters of the First Epistle of St Peter, York, 1693, 2 vols. 4to; also in 2 vols. 8vo,—an admirable Commentary which has been often reprinted. Three Posthumous Tracts; viz. *Rules for a Holy Life*; a Sermon; and a Catechism, London, 1708, 12mo." The best edition of Leighton's whole works is that by Jarment in 6 vols. 8vo, 1806.

⁴ *Depositum Roberti Leightounii, Archiepiscopi Glasguensis, apud Scotus, qui obiit xxv. die Junii anno Dni, 1684, ætatis suæ 74.*

this occasion, that they made him a handsome present, and had medals struck to perpetuate their gratitude and the honour of their deliverer. In the year 1635, he had charters granted to him, his wife, and son, of the barony of Balgonie, and other lands in the counties of Fife, Berwick, and Roxburgh. He was at this time serving in Lower Saxony. In the year 1639, when the covenanters were preparing to resist their sovereign in the field, Leslie returned from Sweden, where he had continued after the death of Gustavus in the service of Christina. "This Leslie," says Spalding, "having conquest from nought wealth and honour, resolved to come home to his native country of Scotland and settle himself beside his chief, the earl of Rothes, as he did indeed, and bought fair lands in Fife; but the earl foreseeing the troubles, whereof himself was one of the principal beginners, took hold of this Leslie, who was both wise and stout, acquainted him with the plot, and had his advice for the furtherance thereof to his power."

It was a fortunate circumstance for the covenanters, that the oppressions to which they had been subjected, and the persecutions that were evidently preparing for them, were well known on the continent, where thousands of their fellow countrymen had been shedding their blood in the defence of the religion and liberties of their fellow protestants, and excited the deepest interest in their favour. Leslie had undoubtedly been invited home, and he brought a number of his countrymen along with him, who, having periled their lives for the same cause among foreigners, could not reasonably be considered as indifferent to its success among their own countrymen. Half a century had, for the first time since it was a nation, passed over Scotland without any thing like general warfare. The people had, in a great measure, become unaccustomed to its hardships and its dangers, and the chieftains, such as had been abroad excepted, were unacquainted with its practice, and ignorant of its details. This defect, by the return of so many who had been in the wars of Gustavus, was amply supplied. Leslie was, by the committee of estates, appointed to the chief command;—many of his fellow adventurers of less celebrity, yet well acquainted with military details and the equipment of an army, were dispersed throughout the country, where they were employed in training the militia, which in those days comprehended every man that was able to bear arms, from the age of sixteen to sixty. By these means, together with a manifesto by the Tables (committees of the four estates assembled at Edinburgh), entitled, "State of the Question, and Reasons for Defensive War," which was circulated so as to meet the eye or the ear of every individual in the nation,—the covenanters were in a state of preparation greatly superior to the king, though he had been meditating hostilities long before he declared them. Though now an old man, little in stature, and deformed in person, Leslie was possessed of ceaseless activity, as well as consummate skill; and in both he was powerfully seconded by the zeal of the people in general. Early apprized of the intentions of Charles, he so managed matters as to render them entirely nugatory. It was the intention of the latter, while he advanced with his main force upon his ancient kingdom by the eastern marches, to enter it previously, or at least simultaneously, on the western side, with a body of Highlanders and Irish, and by the Firth of Forth with a strong division of his English army, under his commissioner the duke of Hamilton. To meet this formidable array, every thing that lay within the compass of their limited means, was prepared by the covenanters. Military committees were appointed for every county, who were to see to the assembling and training of the militia generally, and to forward to the army such levies and such supplies, as might be from time to time demanded. Smiths were every where put in requisition for the fabrication of muskets, carbines, pole-axes,

Lochaber axes, and halberts; magazines to supply the troops were also provided; and to call them together when occasion should require, beacons were provided, and placed in every shire. Arms to the amount of thirty thousand stand were provided from Holland, in addition to those of home manufacture, and a foundry for cannon was established in the Potter Row, at that time one of the suburbs, now a street of Edinburgh. Leith, the port of the capital, was, however, still defenceless; but, aware that the duke of Hamilton proposed to land there with hostile intentions, it was immediately resolved to put the place in a posture of defence. The plan of a new fort, the old defences of the town being in ruins, was laid down by Sir Alexander Hamilton, who acted as engineer to Leslie; and several thousands came spontaneously forward to assist in its erection. Noblemen, gentlemen, and citizens; men, women, and children; even ladies of quality, claimed the privilege of assisting in forwarding the good work, and in less than a week it was finished, and the security of Edinburgh was considered complete. Along the coast of Fife, too, every town was surrounded with batteries mounted with cannon, carried on shore from the ships; and with the exception of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, which were somehow neglected, there was not a resting place in the Firth for an enemy, till he should win it at the point of the pike.

In the mean time, the duke of Hamilton lying in Yarmouth roads, was commanded to sail for the Forth, and by all or any means to "create an awful diversion." His first sail was no sooner discovered as a speck in the distant horizon, than the beacons were in a blaze from the one extremity of the country to the other, and ere he approached the shores of Leith they were lined by upwards of twenty thousand intrepid defenders, among whom was his own mother, mounted on horseback at the head of her vassals, with a pair of pistols in the holsters before her, with which she declared she would shoot her son with her own hand the moment he set a hostile foot on shore. Hamilton now found that he could do nothing. The troops on board his fleet did not exceed five thousand men, all raw young peasants, miserably sea-sick, and many of them labouring under the small pox. Instead of attempting hostile operations, he landed his men upon the islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, which served him for hospitals, and contented himself with sending into the town council some more of Charles's proclamations, which were promised to be laid before the States, who were expected to meet in a few days. This, as the measure of their obedience, Hamilton was for the time obliged to accept. Of this circumstance, with the strength which they mustered, he failed not to acquaint his master, advising him at the same time to negotiate.—We are not detailing the history of the war, but the part performed in it by an individual, or we should have stated that Argyle had been sent to the west, where he had seized upon the castle of Brodick in Arran, where the earl of Antrim was to have first headed his Irish bands, in consequence of which they were for a time unable to come forward. The castle of Dumbarton had also been seized by a master-stroke of policy, as that of Edinburgh now was by the same in war. In the afternoon of the twenty-third of March, Leslie himself, with a few companies which he had been, according to his usual custom, training in the outer court-yard of Holyrood house, some of which he secretly disposed in closes at the head of the Castle Hill, approached to the exterior gate of the castle, where he called a parley with the captain or governor, demanding to be admitted. This being refused, he seemed to retire from the gate, when a petard which he had hung against it, burst and laid it open. The inner gate was instantly assailed with axes, and scaling ladders were applied to the wall, by which the covenanters gained immediate admission; while the garrison, panic-struck with the sudden explosion and the vigour of the attack, sur-

rendered without offering any resistance. The castles of Dalkeith, Douglas, and Strathaven in Clydesdale, and, in short, all the castles of the kingdom, with the exception of that of Carlawerock, were seized in the same manner. Huntly, who was making dispositions in the north to side with Charles, had also in the interim been kidnapped by Montrose, so that he had actually not the shadow of a party in the whole kingdom. Towards the end of May, the king beginning to move from York, where he had fixed his head-quarters, towards the north, the army under Leslie was ordered southward to meet him. The final muster of the army, previous to the march, took place on the Links of Leith, on the 20th of May, 1639, when from twelve to sixteen thousand men made their appearance, well armed in the German fashion, and commanded by native officers whom they respected as their natural superiors, or by their own countrymen celebrated for their hardihood, and that experience in military affairs which they had acquired abroad. With the exception of one German trumpeter, there was not a foreigner among them: all were Scotsmen, brought immediately from the hearths and the altars which it was the object of the war to defend. The private men were, for the most part, ploughmen from the western counties; stout rustics whose bodies were rendered muscular by healthy exercise, and whose minds were exalted by the purest feelings of patriotism and religion. It was on this day that they were properly constituted an army, by having the articles of war read to them. These had been drawn out by Leslie with the advice of the Tables, after the model of those of Gustavus Adolphus, and a printed copy of them was delivered to every individual soldier. The general himself, at the same time, took an oath to the Estates, acknowledging himself in all things liable both to civil and ecclesiastical censure. Leslie had by this time acquired not only the respect and confidence, but the love of the whole community, by the judgment with which all his measures were taken, and the zeal he displayed in the cause; a zeal, the sincerity of which was sufficiently attested by the fame of his exploits in Germany, and by the scars which he bore on his person in consequence of these exploits. He was deformed, old, and mean in his appearance; but the consummate skill which he displayed, and the piety of his deportment, rendered him, according to Baillie, who was along with him, a more popular and respected general than Scotland had ever enjoyed in the most warlike and beloved of her kings. With the van of this army, which was but a small part of the military array of Scotland at this time, Leslie marched for the borders on the 21st of May, the main body following him in order. He was abundantly supplied on his march, and at every successive stage found that his numbers were increased, and his stock of provisions becoming more ample. The first night he reached Haddington, the second Dunbar, and the third Dunglass, a strong castle at the east end of Lammermoor, where he halted and threw up some intrenchments. Charles, in the mean time, advanced to the borders, indulging in the most perfect assurance of driving the Scottish insurgents before him. Learning from his spies, however, that they were within a day's march of him, and so well marshalled that the result of a contest would be at best doubtful, he ordered a trumpet to be sent with letters from himself to the Scottish army, conveying overtures of a friendly nature, but forbidding them to approach within ten miles of his camp, and on this demonstration of their temporal obedience, promising that all their just supplications should be granted. Finding them disposed to an amicable agreement, Charles advanced his camp to the Birks, on the banks of the Tweed, and directed the earl of Holland, his general of horse, to proceed with thirteen troops of cavalry, three thousand foot, and a number of field-pieces, to drive some regiments of the covenanters which had been stationed at Kelso and Jedburgh under colonel

Robert Munro, for the protection of the borders, from their station, as being within the limits stipulated with the noblemen who commanded the main body. Proceeding, in the execution of his order, to Dunse, the first town that lay in his way within the Scottish border, the earl of Holland found it totally deserted of its inhabitants, except a very few, who heard him read a proclamation, declaring the whole Scottish nation, especially all who were in arms and did not immediately lay them down, traitors. Proceeding westward to Kelso, and having reached a height overlooking the town, he found the Scottish troops in the act of being drawn out to receive him. Startled at their appearance, Holland sent forward a trumpeter, to command them to retire according to the promise of their leaders. His messenger was met by a stern demand whose trumpeter he was, and on answering that he was lord Holland's, was told that it would be well for him to be gone. Displeased with this reception of his missionary, his lordship ordered a retreat, and the Scottish soldiers were with difficulty restrained from pursuing them to their camp. What share Leslie had in the proposed submission to Charles is not known; but he no sooner heard of the above affair than he broke up his encampment at Dunglass, and set forward to Dunse, where he ordered Munro to join him. Finding here an excellent position commanding both roads to Edinburgh, he formed his camp on the Law behind the town, where he could see the royal camp at Birks, on the other side of the Tweed. This movement was made without the knowledge of the English, whose camp Leslie, had he been left to himself, would most probably have surprised and secured, with all that was in it. Charles himself, walking out after an alarm from the Scottish army, was the first to descry their encampment on Dunse Law, and he rightly estimated their number to be from sixteen to eighteen thousand men; they were soon, however, increased to twenty-four thousand by the reinforcements that hastened up to them on the report of the English incursions at Dunse and Kelso; and never was an army led to the field better appointed, or composed of better materials. "It would have done your heart good," said an eye-witness, "to have cast your eyes athwart our brave and rich hills as oft as I did, with great contentment and joy. Our hill was garnished on the top toward the south and east with our mounted cannon, well near to forty, great and small. Our regiment lay on the sides; the crowners [superior officers of regiments] lay in canvass lodges, large and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the soldiers about all in huts of timber, covered with divot or straw. Over every captain's tent door waved the flag of his company, blue, with the arms of Scotland wrought in gold, with the inscription 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant.' Leslie himself lay in the castle of Dunse, at the bottom of the hill, whence he issued regularly every night, rode round the camp, and saw the watches regularly set." Throughout the whole army there was the most perfect harmony of opinion, both as to matters of civil and ecclesiastical polity; and there was a fervour in the cause they had undertaken, that burned with an equal flame in the bosom of the peasant and the peer. The latter took their full share in all the fatigues of the camp; slept like the common soldiers, in their boots and cloaks on the bare ground; and in their intercourse with their inferiors, used the language of affection and friendship, rather than that of command. Ministers of the gospel attended the camp in great numbers, carrying arms like the rest, and many of them attended by little parties of their friends and dependents. There were sermons morning and evening in various places of the camp, to which the soldiers were called by beat of drum; and while the day was devoted to the practice of military exercises, its rise and its fall were celebrated in every tent with the singing of psalms, reading the Scriptures, and prayer. The general tone of the army was ardent, full of devotion to God and

of the hope of success against the enemy. "They felt," says Baillie, "the favour of God shining upon them, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement feeling leading them along. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." While they were thus strengthened in spirit, the body was equally well attended to. The regular pay of the common men was sixpence a day; fourpence purchased a leg of lamb, and all of them were served with wheaten bread; a luxury which it is probable many of them never enjoyed either before or after. Leslie kept open table daily at Dunse castle for the nobility and for strangers, besides a side table for gentlemen waiters; and as there had been an extraordinary crop the preceding year, and the people were zealous to offer supplies, the camp abounded with all the necessities of life. An amicable arrangement, however, having been entered into between Charles and the covenanters, peace was proclaimed in both camps on the 18th of June, 1639.

In the month of April, 1640, it was found necessary by the covenanters to reassemble their army, and Leslie was again appointed general; but from various causes it was the beginning of August before the general armament could be collected at Dunse, where, in the early part of that month it was reviewed by the general. It amounted to twenty-three thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a train of heavy artillery, besides some light cannon, formed of tin and leather corded round, capable of sustaining twelve discharges each. This was a species of artillery used by Gustavus Adolphus, and which the Scottish general had adopted in imitation of his master. This army was composed of the same men who had last year occupied Dunse Law. The horse were chiefly composed of respectable citizens and country gentlemen, lightly armed; some of them having lances, and generally mounted on the small, but active horses of the country. Their attire and accoutrements were the same as in the preceding year, including the broad Lowland blue bonnet. Their march over the border was, however, delayed for some weeks for the want of money and necessities. "It was found," says Mr John Livingston, who accompanied the army in the capacity of chaplain to the earl of Cassillis's regiment, "when the whole army was come up, that there was want of powder and of bread, the biscuit being spoiled, and of cloth to be huts to the soldiers. This produced some fear that the expedition might be delayed for that year. One day when the committee of estates and general officers, and some ministers, were met in the castle of Dunse, and were at prayer and consulting what to do, an officer of the guard comes and knocks rudely at the door of the room where we were, and told there was treachery discovered; for he, going to a big cellar in the bottom of the house, seeking for some other thing, had found a great many barrels of gun-powder, which he apprehended was intended to blow us all up. After search, it was found that the powder had been laid in there the year before, when the army had departed from Dunse Law, and had been forgotten. Therefore, having found powder, the earls of Rothes and Loudon, Mr Alexander Henderson, and Mr Archibald Johnston were sent to Edinburgh, and within a few days brought as much meal and cloth to the soldiers by the gift of well affected people there, as sufficed the whole army. With the same readiness these people had parted with their cloth and their meal, others parted with their plate, and to such an extent was this carried, that for many years afterwards, not even a silver spoon was to be met with in the best houses."—"It was very refreshing," adds Livingston, "to remark that after we came to a quarter at night, there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole army but singing of psalms, prayer, and reading of the Scriptures by the soldiers in their several tents; and I

was informed there was much more the year before, when the army lay at Dunse Law. And, indeed, in all our meetings and consultations, both within doors and in the fields, always the nearer the beginning there was so much the more dependence upon God, and more tenderness in worship and walking; but through process of time, we still declined more and more."

General Leslie crossed the Tweed on the 20th of August with his army in three divisions; the College of Justice' troop of horse, consisting of one hundred and sixty gentlemen, under Sir Thomas Hope, riding on the right wing in order to break the stream for the foot; all of whom got safely through but one man, who was drowned. In their march, the officers of the Scottish army were greatly embarrassed by a fear of offending the English nation, with which they had no quarrel, and with which they knew well they were not able to contend. With all the difficulties imposed on him by his situation, however, Leslie continued his march till the 28th, when he completely defeated the king's troops, who had been sent to defend the fords at Newburn. This success put him in possession of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, and Durham, together with several large magazines of provisions, and again reduced Charles to the last extremity; a crisis which ultimately produced the treaty of Rippon, afterwards transferred to London. The king had now, however, the parliament of England upon his hands, and was less occupied with Scottish affairs than formerly. Ten months elapsed before the English parliament saw fit to allow the treaty to be concluded, the Scottish army being all the time quartered in Newcastle, that they might be at hand to assist, in case of matters coming to extremities between the king and the lords of St Stephen's chapel. Embarrassed and controlled by his parliament, Charles now attempted to conciliate the Scots by conceding to them all their demands; hoping thereby to engage them to take part with him against the former. With this view he came himself to Scotland in the month of August, 1641, when, passing through the Scottish army at Newcastle, he was received with the utmost respect, and entertained by the general, who was created lord Balgonie, and on the 11th of October, 1641, earl of Leven by patent to him and his heirs whatsoever. In the following year the earl was sent over to Ireland, in command of the forces raised for suppressing the rebellion there. In the next year he was recalled to take the command of the forces sent into England to the assistance of the parliament, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant. He commanded the left of the centre division of the parliamentary forces at the battle of Marston moor, and was driven out of the field, though the honour of his own name and that of his country was gallantly sustained by David Leslie, whose valour contributed in a great degree to the victory there obtained. He afterwards, assisted by the earl of Callander, took the town of Newcastle by storm; but treated both the town and the garrison with lenity. The king having made overtures to the Scottish generals, Leven sent a copy of them to the parliament, which in return awarded him a vote of thanks, accompanied by a present of a piece of plate. He now laid siege to Harford, but being left by David Leslie, who had marched with all the horse into Scotland to oppose Montrose, and the king approaching in great force, he raised the siege, and marched northward. He was appointed to command, at the siege of Newark, an army composed of both Scottish and English troops, where the king came to him privately on the 5th day of May, 1646. He was afterwards one of a hundred officers who, on their knees, besought his majesty to accept the propositions offered him by the parliament, and thus be merciful to himself and to the nation. When the engagement for the king's rescue was entered into, the earl of Leven resigned the command of the army in disgust, pleading the infirmities of old age. On the

failure of that project, he was again restored to the place he had so honourably filled; but before the battle of Dunbar he again resigned on account of his great age, but appeared in the field as a volunteer. The year following, at a meeting of some noblemen for concerting measures in behalf of Charles II. at Eliot in Angus, he was, along with the rest, surprised by a detachment from the garrison of Dundee, carried to London, and thrown into the Tower. At the request of Christina, queen of Sweden, he was liberated, had his sequestration taken off, and no fine imposed upon him. He returned to Scotland in the month of May, 1654, and shortly after went to Sweden, to thank Christina for the favour she had done him by interceding with Cromwell on his behalf. How long he remained in Sweden is not known; but he died at Balgony on the 4th of April, 1661, at a very advanced age. He was buried on the nineteenth of the same month in the church of Markinch. Few men have been more fortunate in life than Alexander Leslie, earl of Leven. He appears to have entered upon its duties without fortune and with a scanty education, and by the force of his talents, seconded by habits of religion and persevering industry, raised himself to the highest honours which society has to confer, both in his own and in foreign countries. His services were at the time of immense value to his country, and would have been much more so, had they not been shackled by the prejudices, the prepossessions, and the ignorance, of those whom the circumstances of birth placed over him as directors. His lordship acquired extensive landed property, particularly Inchmartin in the Carse of Gowrie, which he called Inchleslie. He was twice married; first to Agnes, daughter of Renton of Billy in Berwickshire, and by her had two sons, Gustavus and Alexander, the latter of whom succeeded him as earl of Leven; and five daughters. After the death of his first wife, which took place in 1651, he married Frances, daughter of Sir John Ferriers of Tamworth in Staffordshire, relict of Sir John Parkington, baronet of Westwood, in the county of Worcester, by whom he had no issue. His peerage finally became merged by a female with that of Melville, in conjunction with which it still exists.

LESLIE, DAVID, a celebrated military commander during the civil wars, and the first lord Newark, was the fifth son of Patrick Leslie of Pitcairly, commendator of Lindores, by his wife, lady Jean Stuart, second daughter of Robert, first earl of Orkney. Of his early life little more is known than that, like many others of his countrymen, he went into the service of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, where he distinguished himself by his military talents, and attained to the rank of colonel of horse. Returning from the continent at, or shortly after, the commencement of the civil wars, he was appointed major-general to the army that was sent into England under the command of the earl of Leven, to the assistance of the parliament. This army, which marched for England in the month of January, 1644, after suffering greatly from the state of the roads and want of provisions, joined the parliamentary forces at Tadcaster, on the 20th of April, with whom they were united in the siege of York, which was raised on the night of Sunday, the 30th of June, by the advance of prince Rupert, with all the strength of the royal army. Determined to give him battle, the confederates took post on Marston moor, on the south side of the Ouse, about five miles distant from the scene of their former operations. Here they hoped to have interrupted the march of the prince towards the city, which he was desirous of gaining; but permitting their attention to be engrossed by a party of horse which he despatched for this purpose, to contest the passage of a river, he in the mean time succeeded in throwing the whole of his army into the town. His immediate object thus gained, he was advised by his colleague, the marquis of Newcastle, to rest satisfied till he should

receive reinforcements, or till the dissensions which now appeared among the confederates should arise to such a height as to destroy the unanimity of their proceedings. Rupert, however, was not of a disposition to wait for remote contingencies, when he conceived the chances to be already in his favour; he therefore hastened to Marston moor, the position the enemy themselves had chosen, and came upon their rear when they were already on their march for Tadcaster, Cawwood, and Selby, by occupying which, they intended to cut off his supplies, and to hem him in till the arrival of additional forces should render his capture easy, and his escape impossible. The Scottish troops in advance of the army were already within a mile of Tadcaster, when about nine o'clock of the morning of the 22nd of July, 1644, the alarm was given that prince Rupert's horse, to the number of five thousand, were pressing on the rear of the confederates, while the main body of his army occupied the moor which they had just left. The march was instantly countermanded, and preparations for an engagement made with the least possible delay. The prince, however, having full possession of the moor, they were compelled to draw up part of their troops in an adjoining field of rye, their right bearing upon the town of Marston, and their line extending about a mile and a half fronting the moor. By three o'clock in the afternoon, both armies, amounting to 25,000 men each, were formed in order of battle. The royal army was commanded on the right by prince Rupert in person; on the left by Sir Charles Lucas, assisted by colonel Harvey; while the centre was led by generals Goring, Porter, and Tilyard. The marquis of Newcastle was also in the action, but the place he occupied has not been ascertained. The parliamentary army was composed, on the right, of horse, partly Scottish, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax; on the left, likewise horse, by the earl of Manchester, and Cromwell his lieutenant-general, assisted by major-general David Leslie, and in the centre by lord Fairfax and the earl of Leven. The battle commenced with a discharge of great guns, which did little execution on either side. A ditch, separating the combatants, rendered the assault a matter of difficulty and peculiar danger, and both stood for some minutes in breathless expectation waiting the signal for attack. On that signal being made, Manchester's foot and the Scots of the main body in a running march cleared the ditch, and advanced boldly to the charge, accompanied by the horse, who also rushed forward to the attack. The fiery Rupert with his squadrons instantly advanced upon the no less fiery, but far more cautious Cromwell. The conflict was terrible; every individual being under the eye of his leader, exerted himself as if the fate of the day had been intrusted to his single arm. The troops of Cromwell, however, supported by David Leslie and the Scottish horse, charged through the very flower of the cavaliers, putting them completely to flight, while Manchester's foot, keeping pace with them, cut down and dispersed the infantry. The marquis of Newcastle's regiment alone disdained to fly, and their dead bodies, distinguished by their white uniforms, covered the ground they had occupied when alive. On the other extremity of the line Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, with a few troops of horse, charged through the royal army, and met their own victorious left wing. The remainder, however, were completely defeated, and even Fairfax's victorious brigade was thrown into confusion by some new raised regiments wheeling back upon it, and treading down in their flight the Scottish reserve under the earl of Leven, who, driven from the field, fled to Tadcaster, carrying with them the news of a total defeat. Cromwell, Leslie, and Manchester, perceiving the rout of their friends, returned to the field as the victors were about to seize upon the spoil. The fate of the day was now reversed. The royal troops, occupying the field of rye, and the parliamentary forces the moor. Each, however, determined, if possible, to preserve the

advantage they had gained, and both once more joined battle. The struggle now, however, though bloody, was short and decisive. The shattered remains of the royal army sought shelter in York; leaving all their baggage, artillery, military stores, and above a hundred stand of colours in the hands of the conquerors. Upwards of three thousand men were left dead on the field; and upwards of fifteen hundred prisoners—more than a hundred of whom were principal officers—fell into the hands of the conquerors. This victory was the death-blow to the affairs of the king, and greatly added to the reputation of Cromwell and Leslie, between whom the whole merit of the affair was divided; the independents claiming the largest share for Cromwell, and the presbyterians for Leslie. The combined army immediately laid siege to York, which surrendered by capitulation in a few days. The confederates, after the capture of York, separated; the Scottish troops marching northward to meet the earl of Calander, whom they joined before Newcastle in the month of August.

General Baillie, in the mean time, had been recalled from England to command the raw levies that were raised for the defence of the country; but he was accompanied in his progress by a committee of the estates, who controlled all his movements; and contrary to the opinion of the general himself, commanded him to leave a strong position and expose himself with an army of inexperienced soldiers to certain destruction on the fatal field of Kilsyth, August 15th, 1645. The issue of this battle left the kingdom entirely in the power of Montrose and his army. In this emergency, David Leslie, with the whole of the cavalry attached to the Scottish army, then lying before Hereford, was recalled. Arriving at Berwick, whither the Estates had fled from the plague, which was then raging in Edinburgh, Leslie took measures for cutting off the retreat of Montrose to the north, amongst whose mountains he had formerly found refuge. For this purpose he proceeded as far as Gladsmuir, about three miles to the west of Haddington, where he learned that Montrose was lying secure in Ettrick forest, near Selkirk. Leslie was no sooner apprized of this, than he wheeled to the left, and marched southward by the vale of Gala. The darkness of the night concealed his motions, and the first notice Montrose had of his approach was by his scouts informing him that Leslie was within half a mile of him. A sanguinary encounter soon followed; but Montrose's troops, though they fought with a desperation peculiar to their character, were completely broken and driven from the field, leaving one thousand dead bodies behind them. Their leader, however, had the good fortune to escape, as did also the marquis of Douglas, with the lords Crawford, Sir Robert Spotiswood, A. Leslie, William Rollock, Erskine, Fleming, and Napier. The lords Hartfield, Drummond, and Ogilvy, Philip Nisbet, William Murray, brother to lord Tullibardine, Ogilvy of Inverquhar, Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthrie, son to the bishop of Moray, and two Irish colonels, O'Kean and Lauchlin, were made prisoners, and reserved for trial in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Upwards of a hundred Irish soldiers taken, were, in conformity to a decree of the legislatures of both kingdoms, shot upon the field.

Leslie now proceeded with his victorious army to Lothian, and from thence, accompanied by the committee of Estates, to Glasgow, where, in conjunction with the committee of the church, they deliberated on the measures necessary for completing the reduction of Montrose, and securing the internal peace of the kingdom. Some of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were here tried and executed, and as a mark of gratitude, the committee, out of a fine they imposed on the marquis of Douglas, voted to Leslie fifty thousand merks, with a gold chain, and to Middleton, who was second in command, thirty thousand. Montrose, restless and intriguing, in the mean time wandered from place to place,

endeavouring to raise a new army. Leslie now returned to his station in the Scottish army, under the earl of Leven, whom he joined in the siege of Newark upon Trent. It was here that Charles, baffled in all his projects, came into the Scottish camp a flying fugitive, on the 5th day of May, 1646. He was received with great respect, the commander-in-chief, the earl of Leven, presenting him with his sword upon his knee. On the return of the Scottish army it was reduced to about six thousand men, of whom Leslie was declared lieutenant-general, with a pension of one thousand pounds a month over and above his pay as colonel of the Perthshire horse. With this force Leslie proceeded to the north, where the Gordons still kept up a party for the king. These men, who had been so formidable to Argyle, Hurry, and Baillie, with the parliamentary commissioners, scarcely made the shadow of resistance to Leslie. He seized upon all their principal strengths, and sent their leaders prisoners to Edinburgh. The lives of the inhabitants, according to his instructions, he uniformly spared; but upon the Irish auxiliaries he as uniformly did military execution. Having gone over the northern districts, and secured every castle belonging to the disaffected, he left Middleton to garrison the country, and with instructions to seize upon the person of Huntly, who had taken refuge among the hills. These arrangements made, he passed into the peninsula of Kintyre, to look after Montrose's colleague, Alaster M'Coll. This chieftain, after making some ineffectual resistance, took to his boats with his followers, and sought safety among the western isles, leaving his castle of Dunavertie to the care of a body of Irish and Highlanders, to the number of three hundred men. As this force, however, was wholly inadequate to the defence of the fort, it was taken, and the garrison put to the sword. Alaster himself was pursued by Leslie, with eighty soldiers, to his castle in Isla. He had, however, fled to Ireland, leaving two hundred men under the command of Colkittoch, his father, to defend his castle of Dunevev. This stronghold Leslie also reduced, the garrison having surrendered, on condition of having their lives spared, but to be sent to serve under Henry Sinclair, a lieutenant-colonel in the French service. Colkittoch being given to the Campbells, was hanged. Having gone over the other islands with the same success, Leslie returned to the low country in the month of September, where he was honoured with the approbation of his party for the fidelity, diligence, and success with which he had executed his commission. The king, in the mean time, had been delivered up to the English parliament, and passed through that series of adventures which ended in his taking refuge in the isle of Wight. When the duke of Hamilton in 1648, raised an army of moderate Scottish covenanters, to attempt the rescue of his royal master, Leslie was offered the command; but, the church being averse to the undertaking, he declined accepting it. After the duke had marched on his unfortunate expedition, the remaining strength of the country was modelled into a new army under the less moderate covenanters, and of this the earl of Leven was appointed commander, and David Leslie major-general, as formerly. Immediately after the death of Charles I., when the cavaliers rose in the north for his son, in what was called "Pluscardino's Raid," Leslie sent a party against them in the month of May, 1649, under the command of Charles Ker, Hacket, and Strahan, by whom they were totally dispersed. On the resignation of the earl of Leven, Leslie was appointed to the chief command of the army raised on behalf of Charles II., after he had accepted the covenant, and been admitted to the government. In this situation he showed himself an able general, repeatedly baffling by his skill the superior forces of Cromwell, whom he at last shut up at Dunbar; and but for the folly of the church and state committee, which had been the plague of the army during all the previous troubles, had undoubtedly cut

off his whole army. Yielding to the importunities of this committee, he rashly descended from his commanding position, and was signally defeated on the 3rd of September, 1650. Upwards of three thousand men were left dead on the field, ten thousand were taken prisoners, two hundred colours, fifteen thousand stand of arms, with all the baggage and artillery, fell into the hands of the English. Leslie, with the wreck of his army, retired upon Stirling, and again made such dispositions for defending that important line of defence as Cromwell found himself unable to force. Here he was joined by Charles, who himself assumed the command of the army, having the duke of Hamilton and Leslie for his lieutenants. In this capacity Leslie accompanied the king to Worcester, where, on the 3rd of September, 1651, Cromwell completely routed the royal army. Leslie was intercepted in his retreat through Yorkshire, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained till the Restoration in the year 1660. By Cromwell's act of grace he was fined in four thousand pounds in the year 1654. After the Restoration he was created, in consideration of his services and sufferings in the royal cause, lord Newark, by patent dated the 31st of August, 1661, to him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, with a pension of five hundred pounds per annum. His lordship, however, does not seem to have been without enemies, as the following letter from the king, assuring him of his unabated confidence, sufficiently implies:—"Although we have on all occasions, both abroad and since our happy return, declared ourself fully satisfied with your conduct and loyalty in our service, and although in consideration of the same, we have given you the title and honour of a lord; yet, seeing we are told, that malice and slander do not give over to persecute you, we have thought fit to give you this further testimony, and to declare under our hand, that while you was the lieutenant-general of our army, you did, both in England and Scotland, behave yourself with as much conduct, resolution, and honesty as was possible or could be expected from a person in that trust: and as we told you, so we again repeat it, that if we had occasion to levy an army fit for ourself to command, we would not fail to give you an employment in it fit for your quality." His lordship died in the year 1682. He married Jean, daughter of Sir John York, by whom he had a son, David, who succeeded him as lord Newark, and three daughters; the eldest of whom, Elizabeth, was married to Archibald Kennedy of Cullean, and was mother to Susanna, the celebrated countess of Eglintoune.

LESLEY, GEORGE, of MONYMUSK, a capuchin friar, of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The introduction of this individual, as an illustrious Scotsman, and the manner in which we intend to treat the events of his life, require some explanation. John Benedict Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, published in Italian the life and marvelous adventures of his friend George Lesley, a Scotsman of rank, who had been miraculously converted to the Roman catholic faith.¹ A work on so pleasing a subject did not remain long in obscurity; it was translated into French, in which language it was published at Rouen in 1660, at Paris in 1682, and again at Rouen in 1700. In 1673 it was dramatized at Rome, and the decent inhabitants of Monymusk, a remote hamlet in Aberdeenshire, were clothed in names suited for an audience in the imperial city; such as Lurcanio a Calvinist clergyman, the parish minister of Monymusk; Forcina, his servant; Theophilus, an old cottager; besides an angel, Pluto, and Beelzebub, in the form of Calvin.² The work, even in its primitive form, is a pure

¹ Not having been so fortunate as to meet with a copy of the Italian edition, we cannot give a copy of the title page, or even of the date.

² Il Cappuccino Scozzese, in Scena, con la seconda parte, e sua morte, non ancor mai piu stampata. Data in luce dal Signor Francesco Rozzi d'Adatri. In Roma, per il mancini, 1673.

romance, manufactured for the laudable purpose of supporting the holy catholic church; while in the midst of the absurd topography, and still more absurd displays of character, it is evident from names and circumstances, that the whole is founded on fact, and that George Lesley must have been a man remarkable for enthusiasm, eccentricity, villany, or some other qualification on which it is difficult to determine. There have already been published two abridged translations of his life, one by lord Hailes in his *Sketches of Scottish Biography*, the other in the *Scots Magazine* for 1802. A search into such contemporary records as we thought might throw any light on the real adventures and merits of this wonderful man, has proved vain; and, unable to separate the truth from the falsehood, we are compelled to follow the steps of those who have already treated the subject, by giving an abridgment of the French translation, without omitting any of its marvels.

The author commences with an account of the city of Aberdeen, which, as we know it to be incorrect, and can 'separate the truth from the falsehood' in it, we omit. In its neighbourhood lived James, count Lesley, and Jean Wood his wife, the father and mother of George, who received from them all the treatment of a beloved son, with the exception, that along with his mother's milk he sucked in the dawning doctrines of Calvinism. Count Leslie died soon after the birth of his son, leaving him vast wealth, and the lady afterwards married the baron de Torry.³ In his eighth year the young count was sent to pursue his studies in France, with a train and equipage suited to his rank, a heretic preceptor, and a fund of advice steadfastly to maintain the faith he had been taught. He applied diligently to his studies, and became acquainted with two noble Parisian brothers, whose society, contrary to the usual expectation of the world regarding such associates, confirmed him in his studious disposition, and like St Basil and St Gregory Nazianzen, he knew no other street in Paris save that which communicated with their house and the school. The Parisian youths compassionating the state of their companion's soul, proceeded to effect his conversion, in which they were assisted by their father, who, instead of the ordinary method of balancing the doctrines of the two religions with each other, appears to have merely contrasted Calvinism, the affection of his relations, and eternal damnation, with the catholic faith, eternal felicity, and the loss of his near relations. The discussions were conducted at the old gentleman's country house, beneath the shadow of an oak, and as a recreation from the pastimes of hunting and fishing. The effect of the whole was irresistible; young Lesley submitted to become a member of the holy catholic church, and was immediately conducted to a confessional, after which his companions beheld in his face a glimpse of that glory which formerly appeared in the face of Moses. Meanwhile the heretic preceptor was naturally displeased with what he saw; he argued, and threatened, and represented the grief of the young count's mother, but in vain. He then sent an account of the matter to Monymusk, and the lady in great trepidation demanded the return of her son; but he, anxious for the safety of his new faith, declined, and the enraged parent disowned him. 'Alas!' groans the archbishop, 'to what an extent will bigotry drive us in matters of religion.' The young count, who had now reached the mature age of sixteen, put himself under the protection of his new friends, and accompanied them on a pilgrimage to Loretto. Here he picked an acquaintance with the capuchin fathers of St Francis, and particularly with Ange Joyeuse, a noble Frenchman, who had exchanged rank and wealth for the cord of St Francis. On the departure of his friends, he intimated his intention of remaining at Rome to prepare for the conversion of his miserable family: he expressed a desire to enter the fraternity of St Francis, but was horrified to

³ Probably the laird of Torry, a village in the parish of Nigg, near Aberdeen.

discover that certain bulls prohibited the reception of newly converted heretics. The ingenuity of his friend, Ange, attempted to relieve him from this dilemma. It was represented that there was a rational distinction betwixt heretics in a catholic country, and the children of Huguenots, who had no means of knowing the true faith. The distinction, however, was not satisfactory to the general of the order, and Lesley formed the bold design of bursting into the papal presence, and enforcing his request. When the youth lifted up his adoring eyes, to look at the countenance of the vicerent of God, the whole chamber beamed with a dazzling light, more luminous than the sun, the brighter rays of light being there accumulated to form a tiara for the majesty of the sacred head. A phenomenon which we are confidentially assured by the biographer, always attends the pontifical presence, although it is not often visible to the naked eye. By the intervention of the pope, he was received into the order, and became a capuchin, and assuming the ecclesiastical name of Archangel, he preached with edification. Twenty years had elapsed since his departure from Scotland, when his mother, hearing that he had disgraced his family by joining a fraternity of beggars, at first (according to the charitable presumption of the archbishop), wished to assassinate him, but preferred the more humane alternative of sending her second son, the baron of Torry, to convert him. It would be tedious to tell how the brothers met, and how the reverse of what was expected took place, by the baron joining the true faith, and both forming a project for the conversion of their mother, and the other inhabitants of Scotland. The baron was the first to return to Scotland, and accident soon revealed the change in his faith; in the mean time Lesley was chosen capuchin preacher at the court of Mary of Medicis, queen regent of France, and on the institution of the college *de propaganda fide*, by Gregory XV., he was appointed papal emissary to Scotland, to procure the restoration of that lost land to the true faith, at the same time accepting the additional situation of interpreter to the Spanish ambassador in England. Lesley, or as his biographer at this period commonly terms him, Archangel, wrote a letter to his mother, which with much discretion he delivered himself. He was received with considerable cold politeness, and entertained in the castle; where, however, he could not eat his dinner in peace from being compelled to sit beside a heretic clergyman, who pocketed 300 crowns annually for teaching the doctrines of damnation, to whom, says his author, whenever he turned his eyes, he thought the banquet assumed the aspect of a funeral meal. Archangel kept his secret about six days, when a remark which he made connected with a change in the establishment, proved him not to be a stranger, and he was compelled to make himself known. The rejoicings at this event can scarcely be described in words. The old lady received *thousands* of visits of congratulation, the fame of the event reached even to Aberdeen (about twenty-five miles), fires of rejoicing were lighted up on the *castle* of Monymusk,⁴ and the inhabitants of the *town*⁵ discharged culverins and let off sky-rockets. He commenced a vigorous discharge of the duties of his mission; he led the people to an adjoining mountain, where he had not been preaching half a quarter of an hour, when the people shuddered, changed colour, and knelt at his feet,—he converted 4000 to the true faith in eight months. He now naturally turned his eyes towards the salvation of his mother, to which he was resolved to make his way through the heretical priest. The reverend gentleman at first declined any discussion, but he was at length compelled to come to issue. He was asked what was the denomination of his peculiar faith, and with much simplicity an-

⁴ The castle of Monymusk is a neat old Flemish building, which would make a rather diminutive modern mansion.

⁵ The hamlet of Monymusk contains about 50 inhabitants.

swered, it was the church of Geneva. Archangel then asked if the church of Geneva was ever mentioned in Scripture? this was a home thrust to the minister, who had seen no more in Scripture about the church of Geneva, than about the stipend of Monymusk. Like a prudent man, however, he promised to produce what was wanted if he could get time; but after repeated delays, having failed, Archangel triumphantly pointed to the epistle to the Romans as a proof of the existence of his church; the heretic was dismissed for incapability and error, and his mistress's faith ceded to the victor. The conversion of the mother was followed by that of the other members of the family, and the whole establishment of the castle. A splendid chapel was fitted up for the celebration of the rites of the Roman catholic church, and the object of the mission made rapid progress for two years, at the end of which period, one of king James's edicts against Roman catholics compelled Archangel to retire to England, and there prosecute his mission in secrecy, having been compelled to leave his books and papers as a prey to the enemy. His mother's goods were confiscated, and she was reduced to the utmost misery by protestant persecution. In these circumstances her son resolved to visit her, and dressing himself as an itinerant vender of herbs, passed through the *streets* of Monymusk, vociferating 'Buy my greens:' he obtained an interview with his mother, who was reduced to the necessity of being compelled to purchase some of his commodity, and a scene ensued, which our limits will not permit us to describe. Being interrupted in his visit by the protestant 'inquisitors,' he was compelled to return to England, whence he was summoned to Italy to attend the head of his order, on the ground of some alleged malversation, the cause of which is not very lucidly explained. The plague raged in Italy during his journey, and he for some time occupied himself in attending the sick at Cremona. He was then appointed guardian of the convent of Mount George in the diocese of Fermo. Here he became acquainted with the archbishop who has so lucidly written his memoirs, and through a mutual miracle a second mission to Britain was concocted between them. Archangel set out accompanied by another Scottish capuchin called Epiphany; their vessel was overtaken by a violent storm, and after a few amiable discussions about tossing overboard some useless hands, in order to lighten her, she was wrecked, the two capuchins being miraculously saved, along with some passengers, among whom were two English gentlemen whom Archangel converted by the following comfortable argument: '*We hold that you cannot be saved, you admit that we may; judge, then, which is the safest religion.*'⁶ He after this met a young Scotsman, who gave him the pleasing intelligence, that, notwithstanding the persecutions suffered by the true faith in Scotland, one influential family in the neighbourhood of the *large* town of Monymusk had been spared, the influence of the king of France having procured the restoration of their estates, and permission to exercise their religion. This gentleman turned out to be his younger brother, Edward, from whom he learned also the sad intelligence, that their mother had fallen into a fever, and died, from the dread that her son had been drowned in his voyage. After this, many adventures happened to Archangel, among which, some too curious remarks made by him on the fortifications of Newport caused his apprehension as a spy. His zeal not decreasing, he wore out the patience of the monarch, and becoming again amenable to the laws against papists, was commanded to quit the kingdom. On his journey southward, he made many miraculous conversions, and particularly on the persons of noblemen in the neighbourhood of the city of Torfecan (Torphichen.) While near the borders of England, his exertions produced a fever, of which he died, and a

⁶ A favourite argument with Roman catholics, to which Jeremy Taylor made a well known and unanswerable answer.

Jesuit in the neighbourhood performed over him the last offices of charity. So terminate the adventures of le Capuchin Escossois, of which we are sorry we are compelled to omit many choice portions.

LESLIE, JOHN, bishop of Clogher, was born at Balquhain, in the north of Scotland, after the middle of the sixteenth century. He was of an ancient and highly respectable family. The earlier part of his education he received at Aberdeen, the latter part at Oxford. He afterwards travelled into Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, and acquired such a proficiency in the languages of all these countries, excepting the last, that he spoke them with the fluency of a native. In the Latin language he particularly excelled, and was so familiar with it, that it was said of him in Spain, when he resided there, *Solus Lesleius Latine loquitur*. He remained on this occasion twenty-two years abroad, and, during that time was present at the siege of Rochelle. He also accompanied the duke of Buckingham on the expedition to the isle of Rhee.

Leslie stood high in favour with Charles I., and was by that monarch admitted a member of his privy council. In 1633 he was appointed to the bishopric of Raphoe, in Ireland, where he built a handsome palace. This building he afterwards held out against Cromwell, adopting the loyal alternative of enduring a siege rather than submit to the usurper.

On the death of his royal patron he went abroad, where he remained till after the restoration. He then returned to England, and in 1661 was translated to the see of Clogher. Here he remained till his death, which took place in 1671, when he was upwards of one hundred years of age. He was then the oldest bishop in the world, having filled that dignified station for fifty years.

LESLIE, CHARLES, a celebrated non-juring divine, was the second son of the bishop of Clogher. He was born in the year 1650. He commenced his education at Inniskillen, Ireland, and was admitted a fellow-commoner in Trinity college, Dublin, in 1664. Here he continued till he commenced master of arts, and during this period acted as tutor to Mr Michael Ward, afterwards bishop of Derry. After the death of his father, in 1671, he came over to England, and entered himself in the temple at London, and for some years studied the law. Finding this an uncongenial pursuit he relinquished it, and applied to divinity. In 1680 he was admitted into holy orders, and in 1687 became chancellor of the cathedral church of Connor, and also acted as a justice of the peace. Soon after his appointment he distinguished himself in a public religious controversy, with Patrick Tyrrel, a Roman catholic, who had been appointed to the see of Clogher. The disputation was numerously attended by persons of the persuasions of both the champions, and each assigned the victory to the defender of his own faith; but it is beyond doubt, that Leslie had greatly the advantage of his antagonist. He afterwards held another public disputation with two eminent popish divines in the church of Tynan, diocese of Armagh. The controversy was maintained in the presence of a large assembly, composed, as in the former case, of persons of both religions; and here again the talents of Leslie brought him off triumphantly. He was now become exceedingly popular in the country for his theological acquirements, and a circumstance soon afterwards occurred which procured him equal celebrity for his political knowledge, and for his intrepidity of character. A Roman catholic high sheriff having been appointed for the county of Monaghan, the gentlemen of the county, in great alarm at this indication of catholic ascendancy, hastened to wait upon him for his advice, as to how they should act with regard to the newly appointed officer, whose religion disqualified him, by law, for the situation. Mr Leslie told them, that it would be equally illegal in them to permit the sheriff to act, and in him to attempt it. That though appointed by the authority of the crown, he, being of

the Roman catholic persuasion, could not have taken the oaths necessary to qualify him for the office, and that therefore his nomination was illegal. This doctrine he afterwards held at the quarter sessions, where the case came to be decided, and so effectually did he urge his objections, and that in the presence of the sheriff himself, that the bench unanimously agreed to commit the pretended officer for his intrusion. Mr Leslie thus placed himself in conspicuous opposition to the dominant party, and openly declared that he no longer considered James as the defender of the faith.

Notwithstanding, however, of his hostility to the papists, he continued a staunch supporter of the exiled family at the revolution in 1688, and refused to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary. The consequence of this fidelity was the loss of all his preferments.

When Ireland became disturbed in 1689, Mr Leslie removed with his family to England, where he employed himself in writing political pamphlets to serve the cause which he had embraced; but, though opposed to the existing government he continued a zealous and active supporter of the church of England. About this time he entered into a controversy with the quakers, which is said to have arisen from the circumstance of his lodging with a family of that persuasion. This family he converted. The first of the several treatises which he wrote against the quakers is entitled, "The Snake in the Grass." It appeared in 1696, and soon ran into a second edition. It was answered by George Whithead in a pamphlet entitled, "An Antidote to the Snake in the Grass." In his second edition Mr Leslie noticed this answer; but he was again assailed in a production called, "Satan dissolved from his Disguises of Light," which also appeared in 1696. To this, and several other attacks, Mr Leslie replied at great length in "A Defence of a book entitled the Snake in the Grass." This again provoked a host of answers, amongst which was one by the quakers, entitled "A Switch for the Snake." To this Mr Leslie again replied in "A Second Defence, or the third and last part of the Snake in the Grass."

The most celebrated works of Mr Leslie, though these just enumerated discovered singular ability, were those which he wrote against the deists. The first of these was published, in 1697, in a letter to a friend, and was entitled "A Short and easy Method with the Deists." The friend alluded to in the title was a *lady*, though the work bears that it was a gentleman. Having been thrown accidentally into the company of infidels, she applied to Mr Leslie for "some short topic of reason, without running to authorities and the intricate mazes of learning." The treatise was effectual, and Mr Leslie, although it was not his original intention, was prevailed upon to publish it. This work he enlarged considerably in a second edition. No answer appeared to the Short and Easy Method till 1710, when it was replied to in a treatise entitled "A detection of the true meaning and wicked designs of a book entitled," &c. Mr Leslie replied to this attack in "The Truth of Christianity Demonstrated," to which was prefixed, "A Vindication of the Short Method with the Deists." These works against deism produced a powerful effect, and amongst others the conversion of a person of the name of Gildon, who had acquired considerable celebrity as a member of that persuasion. This man not only professed himself convinced of his errors, and publicly retracted them, but wrote a book against the opinions which he had formerly entertained, entitled "The Deist's Manual, or a rational Inquiry into the Christian Religion."

Encouraged by the success of his attack on deism, Mr Leslie, in 1699, produced his "Short Method with the Jews," a work which was first suggested by a similar circumstance with that which had given rise to his Short Method with the Deists. An eminent Jew had been converted by his reasoning, and had inti-

mated his intention of publicly owning his conviction. The convert, however, died during Mr Leslie's absence, without exhibiting the recantation which he had proposed.

The next controversy in which Mr Leslie was engaged, was with the Socinians. It began in 1694. In 1697 he published the first of the six dialogues, entitled "The Socinian Controversy Discussed." This was answered in a short tract, entitled "Remarks on Mr Charles Leslie's First Dialogue on the Socinian Controversy." Mr Leslie replied, and was again answered by his opponent in "A Vindication of the Remarks." Mr Leslie now published "A Reply to the Vindication," and with this ended the first part of the controversy.

His principal works against the papists were, "The True Nature of the Catholic Church, in answer to the Bishop of Meaux's letter to Mr Nelson," printed in 1703; "The Case Stated between the Church of Rome, and the Church of England, published in 1713; and "Of Private Judgment and Authority in Matters of Faith." These works are said to have made several converts from popery.

Although thus earnestly and laboriously employed in the cause of religion, Mr Leslie did not neglect the interests, so far as any efforts of his could serve them, of the exiled family. He wrote several political tracts during this period, and made several journeys to Bar le Duc to visit the Pretender, who was then residing there. These journeys, however, and his political treatises, especially one, entitled "The Good Old Cause," published in 1710, gave such offence to the ruling party, that it is said a warrant for his apprehension was actually issued against him. However this may be, he found it necessary to quit the kingdom in 1713, when he proceeded to Bar le Duc, and took up his residence by invitation with the Pretender, who procured a room to be fitted up for him in his own house. While here, Mr Leslie was permitted to officiate in a private chapel after the manner of the church of England, and it is even said, that the Pretender had promised to listen to his arguments concerning his religion, and that Mr Leslie had in vain endeavoured his conversion. This, however, is contradicted by lord Bolingbroke, who asserts, that he not only refused to listen to Mr Leslie, but forbade all discussion on religious matters. Notwithstanding of this, however, and of several other subjects of dissatisfaction with the chevalier, whose conduct towards him does not appear to have been altogether adjusted to his deserts, Mr Leslie continued to remain with him, and in 1716 accompanied him into Italy, after his unsuccessful attempt upon England. Here he remained till 1721, when he found his situation so exceedingly disagreeable, that he determined on returning to his native country. This he accomplished, but died in the following year, on the 13th April, in his own house, at Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan.

The list of Mr Leslie's works, political and theological, is exceedingly voluminous. The latter in seven volumes were lately (1832) printed at the Oxford university press.

LESLIE, JOHN, bishop of Ross, and distinguished for his indefatigable exertions in behalf of queen Mary, was born in 1526, being the son of Gavin Leslie, an eminent lawyer, descended from the barons of Balquhain, one of the most respectable branches of the ancient family of Leslie. He received his education at the university of Aberdeen, and in 1547 was made canon of the cathedral church of that diocese. He subsequently pursued his studies in the universities of Toulouse, Poitiers, and Paris, at which last place he took the degree of doctor of laws. In 1554 he was ordered home by the queen regent, and made official and vicar-general of the diocese of Aberdeen. In the turmoil of the Reformation, which soon after commenced, Leslie became a noted champion of the

ancient faith, and appeared on that side in the famous disputation at Edinburgh in 1560. When it was resolved to bring over the young queen from France to assume the government of her native country, Leslie was the chief deputy sent to her by the catholics to gain her exclusive favour for that party; but though he had the dexterity to arrive before the protestant deputation, he was not successful. Leslie, however, returned to Scotland in the queen's company, and was appointed by her a privy councillor and one of the senators of the college of justice. In 1564 the abbey of Lindores was conferred upon him, and he was soon after promoted to the bishopric of Ross; offices catholic in form, but which now referred to little more than certain temporalities to which they conferred a title. Leslie was one of the sixteen commissioners appointed in this reign to revise the Scottish laws, and it was chiefly owing to his care that the volume of the acts of parliament, usually called the Black Acts, from its being printed in the old English character, was given to the world in the year 1566.

The name of the bishop of Ross derives its chief lustre from the steadfastness and zeal with which he adhered to the fortunes of his royal mistress, after they had experienced the remarkable reverse which is well known to have befallen them. When Mary had become an almost hopeless captive in England, this amiable prelate, at the hazard of all his temporal enjoyments, continued to adhere to her, and to exert himself in her behalf, with a fidelity which would have adorned any cause. He was one of her commissioners at the conference of York in 1568; on which occasion he defended her with a strength of reasoning, which is allowed to have produced a great impression, though it did not decide the argument in her favour. He afterwards appeared as her ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, to complain of the injustice done to her; and if the English princess had not been a party interested in the detention of his mistress, his solicitations could have hardly failed of effect. When he found that entreaties and appeals to justice were of no avail, he contrived means for the escape of the queen, and planned the project for her marriage to the duke of Norfolk, which ended in the execution of that unfortunate nobleman. Leslie was examined in reference to this plot, and notwithstanding his privileges as an ambassador, which he vainly pleaded, was committed prisoner, first to the isle of Ely, and afterwards to the tower of London. It appears to have been during this confinement, that he wrote the historical work by which his name is now chiefly known. In 1573 he was liberated from prison, but only to be banished from England. He then employed himself for two years in soliciting the interference of the continental princes in behalf of his mistress, but without obtaining for her any active assistance. Even with the pope, whom he requested to use his influence with these princes, he met with no better success. While at Rome, he published his history in Latin, under the title of "*De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Jests Scotorum.*" This appeared in 1578: next year, having removed to France, he was made suffragan and vicar-general of the archbishopric of Rouen, in Normandy, and while visiting the diocese, was apprehended and thrown into prison, and obliged to pay three thousand pistoles, to prevent his being given up to Elizabeth. During the remainder of the reign of Henry III., he lived unmolested; but on the accession of the protestant Henry IV., who was the strict ally of Elizabeth, he fell again into trouble. In the course of his visitation of the diocese in 1590, he was once more thrown into prison, and forced to purchase his freedom at the same expense as before. In 1593 he was made bishop of Constance, but being now apparently tired of life, which for many years had presented only disappointments and vexations, he soon after retired into a monastery at Gurtenburg, about two miles from Brussels, where he spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity. He died, May 31st, 1596, and lies buried

in the monastery, under a monument erected to his memory by his nephew and heir, John Leslie.

Bishop Leslie is generally allowed the praise of great learning and of high diplomatic abilities, though it is almost as generally regretted, that he did not turn them to a better use. His fidelity to a declining cause is also allowed, even by its enemies, to have been a sentiment as free from the dross of worldly or selfish views as the motives of a line of public conduct ever are. The isolation of a catholic church dignitary in society seems favourable to the development of such sentiments; and there are not many cases in which the principle is observed to have been more powerful than in the history of this Scottish prelate. His tongue, his pen, the travel of his body, his temporal fortune, were all devoted with the most generous unreserve to the cause which he thought that of justice and true religion; and what more can any man do, to show the superiority of his nature to the meaner passions?

The works of bishop Leslie are as follow: 1. Defence of the honour of Mary Queen of Scotland; with a declaration of her right, title, and interest to the crown of England; Liege, 1571, 8vo, which was immediately suppressed. 2. *Afflicti Animi Consolationes et Tranquilli Animi Conservatio*; Paris, 1574. 3. *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum*: Romæ, 1578, 4to. 4. A Treatise showing that the Regiment of Women is conformable to the law of God and Nature. 5. *De Titulo et Jure Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, quo Angliæ Successionem Jure sibi vindicat*; Rheims, 1580, 4to. 6. The History of Scotland, from the death of James I. in 1436, to the year 1561; Edinburgh, 1830, 4to.

The volume last mentioned was printed from a manuscript in the possession of the earl of Leven and Melville. It is in the Scottish tongue, and forms the original of the three latter books of the Latin history, which differs from it in no respect except in being a little more ample. It appears to have been composed in the vernacular tongue, in order that it might be of use to his captive mistress, who, it is to be presumed, was not so good a Latinist as her cousin Elizabeth. The reason of his presenting her with only this detachment of the history of her country, was, that the preceding part was already to be had in Bellenden's version of Boece. That work stops at the death of James I., and it would naturally occur to bishop Leslie, that a continuation to his own time was a desideratum, both to the people and to her whom he maintained to be their sovereign. He finished his work in March, 1570, and presented the unfortunate queen with the manuscript in 1571; but it never saw the light till the date above mentioned, when one hundred copies were printed for the Bannatyne Club, with fifty additional for sale to the public. The style of the work, though it could not fail to sound rudely in the ears of a modern Englishman, is highly elegant and dignified, forming a wonderful improvement upon the rude simplicity of Bellenden. The worthy bishop informs us, that he stops at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, because the transactions subsequent to that period contain much that he does not think would reflect honour upon his country: there could be few whose words were more worth listening to, respecting that important and greatly controverted part of our history.

The volume alluded to contains a portrait of Leslie, representing him as a grave and venerable man, with an aquiline nose, a small beard, and a very lofty and capacious forehead. As a specimen of the Scottish which a learned prelate would then write, and a queen peruse, we may quote the bishop's character of James V.

“ Their was gryt dule and meane maid for him throw all the partis of his realme, because he was a nobill prince, and travaillet mekill all his dayis for manitening of his subjectis in peace, justice, and quietnes. He was a man of

pearsonage and stature convenient, albeit michtie and strong theirwith; of countenance amiable and lufely, specially in his communication; his eyes graye and scharp of sicht, that quhomsoever he did ones see and marke, he wald perfyttly knawe in all tymes thairefter; of witt in all things quick and prompt, of a princely stomacke and heich courage in greit perillis, doubtful affairis and materis of weichtie importance; he had in a maner a divine foresicht, for in sic thingis as he went about to doo, he did them advisedlye, and with grit deliberacion, to the intent that amangis all men his witt and prudence might be noted and regardit, and alsfarre excell and pas all uthers in estait and dignitie. Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, effabill, curteous; and so farr abhorrit pride and arrogance, that he was ever sharpe and quick to thame quhilke were spotted or nottit with that crime. He was alsua a good and suir justiciar, be the quhilke one thing he allurit to him the hartis of all the people, because they lived quietlie and in rest, out of all oppressioun and molestacioun of the nobilitie and riche persones; and to this severyte of his wes jointit and annexit a certane merciful pitye, quhilke he did oftymes shaw to sic as had offendit, taking rather composicions of money nor menis lyvis. * * * * This gude and modest prince did not devoure and consume the riches of his countrey, for by his heich pollicye marvellouslie riched his realme and himselfe, both with gold and silver, all kinds of riche substance, quhairof he left greyt stoir and quantitie in all his palices at his departing. And so this king, living all his tyme in the favour of fortune, in heich honour, riches, and glorie, and for his nobill actis and prudent pollyces, worthye to be registrat in the buike of fame, gaif up and randerit his spreit into the hands of Allmichty God, quhair I doubt not bot he hes suir fruition of the joye that is preparit for these as sell sitt on the richt hand of our Salveour."

LESLIE, (SIR) JOHN, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, and distinguished by his valuable writings and discoveries, was born at the kirk-town of Largo, in Fife, on the 16th of April, 1766. His father, Robert Leslie, by profession a joiner and cabinet-maker, and originally from the neighbourhood of St Andrews, was a much respected and worthy man, and seems, in point of education and general attainments, to have been superior to the majority of persons in his station at that period. The mother of Sir John Leslie was Anne Carstairs, a native of Largo. When very young, he was sent to a woman's school in the village, but remained only a short time there. Afterwards he was placed under a Mr Thomson at Lundin Mill, with whom he learned to write; and lastly he went to Leven school, and began to learn Latin; but being a weakly boy, and unable to walk so far, he was obliged after about six weeks to give up attendance. As these were the only schools he attended before going to college, it is evident that his elementary acquirements must have been exceedingly imperfect. He received, however, while at home, some lessons in mathematics from his elder brother Alexander, and soon began to show a surprising aptitude for that branch of science. His manners at this period of life were remarkably reserved and shy. He seemed bent on devoting himself entirely to study, and read with peculiar avidity all the books that came within his reach, on mathematics and natural philosophy. To Latin he took a strong dislike, and could not be induced to resume the study of it till after his first year at college.

His extraordinary proficiency in geometrical exercises, joined to a consideration of the unfavourable circumstances under which he had acquired it, brough him at an early period under the notice of professors Robison and Stewart, of the university of Edinburgh, who were much impressed by the extraordinary powers which he displayed. It was at length resolved by his parents, that he should

be sent to the university of St Andrews, in order to fit himself for a learned profession, and he was accordingly entered there, as a student of mathematics, in 1779. At the first distribution of prizes, he attracted some attention by his proficiency, which was the means of introducing him to the patronage of the earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university. Being now destined for the church, he went through the regular routine of instructions for that purpose. After attending for six sessions at St Andrews, he removed to Edinburgh, in company with another youth,—destined like himself to obtain a high niche in the temple of fame, and to be honoured, at the same moment with himself, more than forty years after, with a royal favour expressive of his equal merit,—James (now Sir James) Ivory. At St Andrews he had also formed an acquaintance with Dr William Thomson, the continuator of Watson's *Life of Philip II.*, and latterly a professed author of no small note in London. At the university of Edinburgh Mr Leslie studied three years, during which time he was introduced to Dr Adam Smith, and employed by that eminent man in assisting the studies of his nephew, afterwards lord Reston. He now gave up his intention of adopting the clerical profession, which he found to be in a great measure incompatible with the strong bent which his mind had taken towards physical studies.

In 1788, he went to Virginia, as tutor to two young college friends, Messrs Randolph; and after spending more than a year in America, returned to Edinburgh. In January 1790, he proceeded to London, carrying with him some recommendatory letters from Dr Smith; he has been heard to mention, that one of the most pressing injunctions with which he was honoured by that illustrious philosopher, was to be sure, if the person to whom he was to present himself was an author, to read his book before approaching him, so as to be able to speak of it, if there should be a fit opportunity. His first intention was to deliver lectures on natural philosophy; but being disappointed in his views, he found it expedient to commence writing for periodical works, as the readiest means of obtaining subsistence. For obtaining employment of this kind, he was mainly indebted to his friend Dr William Thomson, who engaged him upon the notes of a new edition of the Bible, which he was then publishing in numbers. About three months after his arrival in London, he made an agreement with Mr Murray, the bookseller, to translate Buffon's *Natural History of Birds*, which was published in 1793, in nine octavo volumes. The sum he received for it laid the foundation of that pecuniary independence which, unlike many other men of genius, his prudent habits fortunately enabled him early to attain. The preface to this work, which was published anonymously, is characterised by all the peculiarities of his later style; but it also bespeaks a mind of great native vigour and lofty conceptions, strongly touched with admiration for the sublime and the grand in nature and science. During the progress of the translation, he fulfilled an engagement with the Messrs Wedgewood of Etruria in Staffordshire, to superintend their studies; he left them in 1792. In 1794, Mr Leslie spent a short time in Holland; and, in 1796, he made the tour of Germany and Switzerland with Mr Thomas Wedgewood, whose early death he ever lamented as a loss to science and his country. About this period, he stood candidate for a chair at St Andrews, and subsequently, for that of natural philosophy at Glasgow, but without success. The fortunate candidate on the latter occasion was Dr James Brown of St Andrews, with whom Mr Leslie to the end of his life maintained a constant intimacy. In 1799, he travelled through Norway and Sweden, in company with Mr Robert Gordon, whose friendship he had acquired at St Andrews college.

At what period Mr Leslie first struck into that brilliant field of inquiry where he became so conspicuous for his masterly experiments and striking discoveries

regarding radiant heat, and the connexion between light and heat, we are unable to say. But his Differential Thermometer—one of the most beautiful and delicate instruments that inductive genius ever contrived as a help to experimental inquiry, and which rewarded its author by its happy ministry to the success of some of his finest experiments—must have been invented before the year 1800, as it was described in Nicholson's *Philosophical Journal* some time during that year. The results of those fine inquiries, in which he was so much aided by this exquisite instrument, were published to the world in 1804, in his celebrated "*Essay on the Nature and Propagation of Heat.*"¹ The experimental devices and remarkable discoveries which distinguish this publication, far more than atone for its great defects of method, its very questionable theories, and its transgressions against that simplicity of style which its aspiring author rather spurned than was unable to exemplify; but which must be allowed to be a quality peculiarly indispensable to the communication of scientific knowledge. The work was honoured, in the following year, by the unanimous adjudication to its author, by the council of the Royal Society, of the Rumford Medals, appropriated to reward discoveries in that province, whose nature and limits he had so much illustrated and extended.

Mr Leslie thus distinguished himself by his acquirements, when, early in 1805, in consequence of the translation of professor Playfair from the chair of mathematics to that of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, the former became vacant, and the subject of this memoir appeared as a candidate for the situation. It might have been expected that, where the qualifications of the individual were so decidedly above all rivalry, there could have been no hesitation in his native country to confer upon him the honour which he sought. Such there might not have been, if what is called the moderate party in the Scottish church, had not been inspired by a jealousy of his liberal principles in politics, accompanied by a desire of advancing one of their own number, to oppose his election. The person brought forward as the rival candidate was Dr Thomas Macknight, one of the ministers of the city, and son of the venerable commentator on the *Epistles*,—a gentleman highly qualified, no doubt, not only for this, but for almost any other chair in the university; but who, nevertheless, could not be matched against an individual so distinguished for the benefits he had conferred on science as Mr Leslie; and who was moreover liable to the disqualifying consideration that he was already engaged in an office which, to be well done, requires the whole man, while Mr Leslie stood in the light of a most useful member of society in a great measure unprovided for.

The electors in this case were the magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh, and to them Mr Leslie was recommended not only by fame, but by the warmest testimonials from Sir Joseph Banks, Mr Dempster of Dunnichen, Dr Hutton of Woolwich, Baron Masseres, and Dr Maskelyne. In the supposition that these men were disposed to discharge their trust with fidelity, they could have no hesitation in preferring Mr Leslie; and it is to be related to their credit, that they had no such hesitation. On learning the bent of their resolution, the ministers of Edinburgh held various private meetings, as if to indicate the more pointedly that they had a peculiar interest of their own in the matter; and it was resolved to oppose Mr Leslie's election on the grounds of what they deemed an infidel note in his essay on heat; employing for this purpose a clause in the fundamental charter of the college, directing the magistrates to take the advice of the Edinburgh clergy in the election of professors.

¹ Previous to this period, Mr Leslie, when not otherwise or elsewhere engaged, used to live with his brothers at Largo; and there were the experiments for his essay on heat carried on, and the book written.

The note alluded to was one in reference to the unphilosophical theories which once attempted to explain the phenomena of gravitation by means of invisible ethers. Mr Leslie, in treating this point, found it convenient to refer to Mr Hume's theory of cause and effect, in which, as is well known, he makes use of certain generally received doctrines to invalidate the argument for the existence of the Deity. In making the reference, it did not seem to Mr Leslie to be necessary that he should condemn the ultimate use made of these doctrines by Mr Hume, since he was only engaged in a physical examination. His note, therefore, stands as follows: "Mr Hume is the first, so far as I know, who has treated of causation in a truly philosophic manner. His Essay on Necessary Connexion seems a model of clear and accurate reasoning. But it was only wanted to dispel the cloud of mystery which had so long darkened that important subject. The unsophisticated sentiments of mankind are in perfect unison with the deductions of logic, and imply at bottom nothing more in the relation of cause and effect, than a constant invariable sequence." From these words, however, it was evident, in the opinion of his clerical opponents, "that Mr Leslie, having, with Mr Hume, denied all such necessary connexion between cause and effect, as implies an operating principle in the cause, has, of course, laid a foundation for rejecting all argument that is derived from the works of God, to prove either his being or attributes."

When Mr Leslie was informed of the grounds on which the Edinburgh ministers rested their opposition, he addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr Hunter, professor of divinity, and one of the few clergymen of the city who were not opposed to him, laying before him some explanations of the note, to which he begged him to call the attention of his brethren. These explanations were chiefly what are stated above, and are thus followed up: "I have the fullest conviction that my ideas on the question to which the note refers, would appear to coincide, in every essential respect, with those of the most enlightened adversaries of Mr Hume's philosophy. But, limited as I am to a few moments of time, I can only disavow (which I do with the greatest sincerity and solemnity,) every inference which the ingenuity of my opponents may be pleased to draw from the partial view I have taken of the general doctrine, to the prejudice of those evidences on which the truths of religion are founded. If I live to publish another edition of my work, I pledge myself to show in an additional paragraph, how grossly and injuriously I have been treated on this occasion. * * It is painful to be called on, after the habits of intimacy in which I have lived with the most exemplary characters in both parts of the island, to repel a direct charge of atheism; but whatever may be the effect of such calumnies on the minds of strangers, it affords me much consolation to think, that they will be heard with contempt and indignation by those who know the real state of my sentiments, and particularly by such as are acquainted with the strictness of those religious principles in which I had the happiness to be educated from my earliest years."

This letter was laid before the ministers at a meeting held by them on the 12th of March (1805); but being, to use their own phrase, by no means satisfied with it, they appointed a committee, consisting of Dr Grieve, Mr David Black, Mr David Dickson, and Dr Inglis, to proceed to the town-council and protest against the election of Mr Leslie. As the council was to be that day engaged in the election, the committee went accordingly to their chamber, and presented a protest which had been prepared, in which, besides stating the grand objection of the note and their inferences from it as to Mr Leslie's religious principles, they stated that, "in the event of his being elected, notwithstanding this representation, they reserved to themselves full power of questioning the validity of such election, and of employing whatever means may, to them, be found compe-

tent for preventing Mr Leslie's induction into the office of professor ; with full power, in the event of his induction, to prosecute for his ejection from said office in any competent court, civil or ecclesiastical." Immediately after this paper was given in and its bearers had left the hall, the council elected Mr Leslie.

At the meeting of the presbytery of Edinburgh on the 27th, the committee of the city clergy gave in a representation stating these transactions, along with a copy of their protest, and requested the reverend court to take such steps in the matter as they might judge proper. It was here determined by vote to carry the affair before the synod ; a step formally necessary for bringing it under the decision of the highest national church court, the general assembly.

At the meeting of this court, on the 22nd of May, the case of Mr Leslie came before it in the shape of a complaint by the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff and other members of the synod, against the reference of the case to the general assembly. It was thus apparent that the leaders of the more zealously pious party of the church had taken the part of Mr Leslie against their accustomed opponents. The interest which the public could not have failed to entertain respecting the question, even if confined to its native merits, was excited to an uncommon degree by this complication of the phenomenon. The case, nevertheless, furnished only an unusually striking example of what must always be the result of a party system in any deliberative body. It happened to be convenient for the " moderate " party on this particular occasion, to show an anxious desire for the purity of faith and doctrine ; and for this purpose they raked up a negative title in the Edinburgh clergy to be consulted in the exercise of the town-council patronage, which had not been acted upon for twenty-six years, during which time several of the very men now prosecuting had been elected to chairs in the university without regard to it. It was equally convenient for the high-flying party, though adverse to all their usual principles, to regard the suspected infidelity of Mr Leslie with a lenient and apologetic spirit, in order that they might be in their usual position regarding their opponents, and because they hoped to gain a triumph for themselves in the non-success of a prosecution, which they could easily see rested upon no valid grounds, and could hardly, in the face of public opinion, be carried to its utmost extent, even though a majority of servile votes could have been obtained for the purpose.

In the course of the long debate which followed the introduction of the case, some very strong testimonies were brought forward in favour of Mr Leslie's moral and religious character. A letter from the minister of Largo testified that, during the two past years, while Mr Leslie resided in the parish, he had paid a becoming respect to religion, and that, if great abilities highly improved, an unstained moral character, and a tender discharge of every filial duty, recommend to confidence and esteem, these belonged to him. Another letter, from the clergyman of the neighbouring parish, after remarking that insinuations of the kind disseminated respecting Mr Leslie, yielded but a contemptible support to any cause, stated the following particulars : " I have lived in habits of intimacy with Mr Leslie for some time past ; I have had an opportunity of knowing his religious and political sentiments ; I have been furnished, in short, with satisfactory evidence of his attachment to our ecclesiastical and civil establishment. His father officiated long as a worthy elder of our church : his son was once a student of divinity ; and though he has not prosecuted his theological studies, having been much engaged in other literary pursuits, I never heard that he had censured to respect the doctrines or discipline of the church of Scotland. On the contrary, the leading doctrines of Christianity he regards with reverence."

There was also read a letter from Mr Leslie to a friend, of date, February

22nd, 1805, in which he thus expressed himself: "It was my lot to receive a most virtuous and religious education, in the bosom of a family eminently distinguished by its exemplary lives; and the impressions of my early years, no distance of time, or change of circumstances can ever efface. If my mind is more enlarged by culture, I have likewise learned to see more deeply the importance of those truths which bind men together in society, and which, visiting their inmost recesses, appal the guilty and hold forth comfort to the wretched. I have ever been a sincere lover of peace, of decency, and good order. My time has been almost wholly spent in abstract researches, and the study of the sublime operations of nature. The questions, so much agitated of late, served with me only to amuse a few leisure moments; and even at that eventful period, when the minds of men, and particularly of young men, were so violently inflamed, I escaped in a great measure the contagion. I sighed, indeed, for the improvement of our species; but the slightest appearance of tumult, or popular violence, was most abhorrent to my temper. I never had the remotest connexion with any party or political association whatever. In the spirit of mildness, I endeavoured to think and act for myself. My sentiments of loyalty had been confirmed by what I had seen during a short stay in America, where I witnessed the disgusting and pernicious influence assumed by an ignorant, licentious, and dissolute rabble. * * It is our native island that presents the truly cheering picture of equal laws mildly administered, and holds up a body of religious institutions at once rational, decent, and impressive. I venerate the great principles of our Christian faith, and am solicitous to mark, by my external behaviour, that respect which I cherish. Raising my affections above this little spot of earth, *the restless scene of intrigue, and strife, and malice*, I look forward with joy and expectation to that better country beyond the grave."

Among the most powerful speakers on the side of Mr Leslie was Sir Henry Moncrieff, who observed that the question expressly and simply referred to a civil right of the Edinburgh ministers. This right, he showed, had never been before exercised in the election of a professor of mathematics, and in all probability would be confined by a court of law to the professorships existing at the institution of the university, of which that of mathematics was not one. The right, however, if right it was, had in reality been exercised: the clergy had gone to the council and given their advice, and, though it had not been followed, still it had been received. Sir Henry also commented in strong terms upon the fact, that the whole of this prosecution, threatening so much to Mr Leslie, had been conducted in such a way as to allow him no possibility of appearing in his own defence. "It is a circumstance," further continued this nervous orator, "which I cannot help mentioning, that the ministers of Edinburgh, in their zeal to find any sort of heresy in Mr Leslie's note, have unfortunately announced a doctrine in opposition to that which they would fix on him, which is capable of an interpretation more hostile to religion than any thing that they have imputed to his book. In asserting 'such a *necessary connexion* between cause and effect as implies an *operating principle* in the cause,' they express a doctrine of which I can scarcely mention the pernicious tendency. If the necessity is applied to the first cause, it is not far from blasphemy. If it is restricted (as I suppose it was meant to be) to the second cause, it is substantially the doctrine of materialism, and leads directly to atheism. [Here Mr Ritchie interrupted the speaker, to remind him that he had qualified the expression, and restricted his meaning to a *conditional* or *contingent* necessity.] True, sir, he did so. He did the very thing which he will not allow Mr Leslie to do. He gives an explanation for himself and his friends, when he perceives the consequences of the original expressions they had employed. He qualifies the necessity they

asserted, by the term 'conditional,' by which he means to restrict it, and he expects that we are to take his explanation without a murmur; although, when Mr Leslie would confine the assertion in his note to 'objects of physical examination,' he obstinately fixes him down to his original expressions, and rejects the limitation as utterly inadmissible. Unfortunately, sir, the doctrine of the ministers of Edinburgh, with regard to such a necessary connexion between cause and effect as implies an operating principle in the cause, stands in its original state in the protest which they gave to the town-council. It is recorded in the council books; and there it *must* remain in all future times, without any explanation whatever, be its tendency or its heresy ever so mischievous.

"The use," he continued with exquisite sarcasm, "which may be made of incautious expressions, may be as forcibly illustrated from the protest of the ministers of Edinburgh, as from the note of Mr Leslie. But there is this material distinction between the two cases: Mr Leslie, at least, understood the precise meaning of his assertions, as far as they related to the subject of which he was writing; but my reverend brethren enunciated their dogma in perfect innocence and simplicity, completely unconscious of its true import and tendency!"

Near midnight, on the second day of the debate, it was determined by 96 against 84 to dismiss this vexatious case without further notice. On the vote being announced, a shout of applause—an unwonted sound in the general assembly—burst from the crowd assembled in the galleries.

Mr Leslie entered without further opposition upon the duties of his chair, and upon a course of experimental discovery by which he was to confer lustre upon the university. Through the assistance of one of his ingenious contrivances—his hygrometer—he arrived in 1810 at the discovery of that singularly beautiful process of artificial congelation, which enabled him to convert water and mercury into ice. "We happened," says a brother professor, "to witness the consummation of the discovery—at least, of the performance of one of the first successful repetitions of the process by which it was effected; and we shall never forget the joy and elation which beamed on the face of the discoverer, as, with his characteristic good nature, he patiently explained the steps by which he had been led to it."

In 1809 Mr Leslie published his *Elements of Geometry*, which immediately became a class-book, and has since gone through four editions. He also published, in 1813, an "Account of Experiments and Instruments depending on the relation of Air to Heat and Moisture." In 1817 he produced his "Philosophy of Arithmetic, exhibiting a Progressive view of the Theory and Progress of Calculation," a small octavo; and, in 1821, his "Geometrical Analysis, and Geometry of Curve Lines, being volume second of a Course of Mathematics, and designed as an Introduction to the study of Natural Philosophy."² In 1822 he published "Elements of Natural Philosophy," for the use of his class—reprinted in 1829—and of which only one volume appeared. "Rudiments of Geometry," a small octavo, published, 1828, and designed for popular use, was his last separate work. Besides these separate works, he wrote many admirable articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, three profound treatises in *Nicholson's Philosophical Journal*, a few in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, and several very valuable articles on different branches of physics in the *Supple-*

² The *Elements of Geometry* included Trigonometry and Geometrical Analysis in one volume, for the three first editions; and the curve lines of the second order was a small separate work. In the fourth edition of the *Geometry*, 1820, one volume included *Geometry and Trigonometry*, and the second, published some time after, consisted of *Geometrical Analysis*, including the curves of the second order, formerly published with the addition of the higher curves.

ment to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1819, on the death of professor Playfair, whose promotion had formerly made room for him in the chair of mathematics, he was elevated to the professorship of natural philosophy, by which his powers were of course brought into a far wider field of display and of usefulness, than they had been for the preceding fourteen years. Among the preliminary treatises of the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which began to be published in 1830, he wrote a "Discourse on the History of Mathematical and Physical Science, during the eighteenth century," which may be described as one of the most agreeable and masterly of all his compositions.

The income enjoyed by Mr Leslie was for many years so much above his necessities, that he was able, by careful management, to realise a fortune not far short of ten thousand pounds. Part of this he expended, in his latter years, upon the purchase and decoration of a mansion called Coates near his native village, where he spent all the intervals allowed by his college duties. Early in the year 1832, at the recommendation of the lord chancellor (Brougham), he was invested with a knighthood of the Guelphic order, at the same time that Messrs Herschel, C. Bell, Ivory, Brewster, South, and Harris Nicolas, received a similar honour. Sir John Leslie was not destined long to enjoy the well-merited honour. In the end of October, while superintending some of the improvements about his much-loved place, he incautiously exposed himself to wet, the consequence of which was a severe cold. Among the various foibles which protruded themselves through the better powers and habitudes of his mind, was a contempt for medicine, and an unwillingness to think that he could be seriously ill. He accordingly neglected his ailment, and was speedily seized with erysipelas in one of his legs; a disorder at that time raging in Scotland with all the symptoms and effects of a malignant epidemic. On Wednesday, October 31st, he again exposed himself in his grounds, and from that day, the malady advanced very rapidly. On the evening of Saturday, November 3d, he breathed his last.

The scientific and personal character of Sir John Leslie has been sketched with so bold and free a pencil by Mr Macvey Napier, his brother in both academic and literary labours, that we make no apology for presenting it to the reader, in lieu of any thing of our own:

"It would be impossible, we think, for any intelligent and well-constituted mind, to review the labours of this distinguished man, without a strong feeling of admiration for his inventive genius and vigorous powers, and of respect for that extensive knowledge which his active curiosity, his various reading, and his happy memory had enabled him to attain. Some few of his contemporaries in the same walks of science, may have excelled him in profundity of understanding, in philosophical caution, and in logical accuracy; but we doubt if any surpassed him, whilst he must be allowed to have surpassed many, in that creative faculty—one of the highest and rarest of nature's gifts—which leads, and is necessary to discovery, though not all-sufficient of itself for the formation of safe conclusions; or in that subtilty and reach of discernment which seizes the finest and least obvious relations among the objects of science—which elicits the hidden secrets of nature, and ministers to new combinations of her powers. There were some flaws, it must be allowed, in the mind of this memorable person. He strangely undervalued some branches of philosophical inquiry of high importance in the circle of human knowledge. His credulity in matters of ordinary life was, to say the least of it, as conspicuous as his tendency to scepticism in science. It has been profoundly remarked by Mr Dugald Stewart, that 'though the mathematician may be prevented, in his own pursuits, from going far astray, by the absurdities to which his errors lead him, he is seldom apt to

be revolted by absurd conclusions in other matters. Thus, even in physics,' he adds, 'mathematicians have been led to acquiesce in conclusions which appear ludicrous to men of different habits.' Something of the same kind was observable in the mind of this distinguished mathematician, for such also he was. He was apt, too, to run into some startling hypothesis, from an unwarrantable application of mathematical principles to subjects altogether foreign to them; as when he finds an analogy between circulating decimals, and the lengthened cycles of the seasons. In all his writings, with the exception, perhaps, of his last considerable performance, the discourse prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, even in the sober field of pure mathematics, there is a constant straining after 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn,' and a love of abstract, and figurative, and novel modes of expression, which has exposed them to just criticism, by impartial judges, and to some puny fault-finding, by others, more willing to carp at defects than to point out the merits which redeem them. But when even severe criticism has said its worst, it must be allowed, that genius has struck its captivating impress, deep and wide over all his works. His more airy speculations may be thrown aside or condemned; but his exquisite instruments, and his original and beautiful experimental combinations, will ever attest the fruitfulness of his mind, and continue to act as helps to farther discovery. We have already alluded to the extent and excursiveness of his reading. It is rare, indeed, to find a man of so much invention, and who himself valued the inventive above all the other powers, possessing so vast a store of learned and curious information. His reading extended to every nook and corner, however obscure, that books have touched upon. He was a lover, too, and that in no ordinary degree, of what is commonly called anecdote. Though he did not shine in mixed society, and was latterly unfitted by a considerable degree of deafness for enjoying it, his conversation, when seated with one or two, was highly entertaining. It had no wit, little repartee, and no fine turns of any kind, but it had a strongly-original and racy cast, and was replete with striking remarks and curious information.

"He had faults, no doubt, as all 'of woman born' have: he had prejudices, of which it would have been better to be rid; he was not over charitable in his views of human virtue; and he was not quite so ready, on all occasions, to do that justice to kindred merit as was to be expected in so ardent a worshipper of genius. But his faults were far more than compensated by his many good qualities—by his constant equanimity, his cheerfulness, his simplicity of character, almost infantine, his straightforwardness, his perfect freedom from affectation, and, above all, his unconquerable good nature.³ He was, indeed, one of the most placable of human beings; and if, as has been thought, he generally had a steady eye, in his worldly course, to his own interest, it cannot be denied that he was, notwithstanding, a warm and good friend, and a relation on whose affectionate assistance a firm reliance could ever be placed.

"There is one other matter which, in justice to the illustrious dead, we cannot pass over in silence; we mean the permanent service rendered to the class of Natural Philosophy by the late Sir John Leslie in the collection of by far the

³ The person of Sir John Leslie was, in later life, far from gainly. He was short and corpulent, with a florid face, and somewhat unsightly projection of the front teeth, and tottered considerably in walking. He was, moreover, very slovenly in his mode of dressing,—a peculiarity the more curious, as it was accompanied by no inconsiderable share of *self-respect*, and an anxiety to be thought young and engaging. The mixture of great intellectual powers with the humbler weaknesses of human nature, can seldom have been more strikingly exemplified than in his case; though it is evident that, as his weaknesses were very much those to which unmarried men in advanced life are supposed to be most peculiarly liable, they might have probably been obviated in a great measure, if he had happened to spend his life in the more fortunate condition of matrimony.

finest and most complete set of apparatus in the kingdom. Augustus boasted that he found Rome built of brick, and left it a city of palaces and temples constructed of marble. Without any exaggeration, something analogous may be predicated of Sir John Leslie in regard to the apparatus of this class. He found it a collection of antiquated and obsolete rubbish; he left it the most complete and perfect of its kind in this kingdom; and if it had pleased God to spare him a few years longer, it would, beyond all doubt, have been rendered the first in Europe or the world. The renovation which he effected was, indeed, most radically complete. The whole of the old trash was thrown aside, and its place supplied by new instruments, constructed on the most improved principles by the most celebrated artists, both in this country and on the continent; while its absolute amount was increased tenfold, and adapted, in the happiest manner, to the present advanced state of science. His perseverance and enthusiasm in this respect were indeed boundless; and as his predecessors were not experimentalists, in the same sense in which he was, and had made little or no effort to accommodate the apparatus to the progress of science, or even to repair the wear and tear of time, he had the whole to create, in the same way as if the class had only been founded when he was first promoted to the chair. By his own continued and admirably-directed efforts, aided by the liberality of the patrons, who generously made him several grants in furtherance of the object which he had so much at heart; and also by very considerable pecuniary sacrifices upon his own part, for which he has never as yet got the credit that is so justly due to him; he at length succeeded in furnishing the apparatus-room in the manner in which it may now be seen by any one who chooses to visit it, and thus conferred upon the university a benefit for which it ought to be for ever grateful to his memory. This may sound strange in the ears of those who have been accustomed to hear it said, as it has often been, most falsely, that Sir John Leslie was a bad experimenter. The truth is, that of all his great and varied gifts, none was more remarkable than the delicacy and success with which he performed the most difficult experiments, excepting perhaps his intuitive sagacity in instantly detecting the cause of an accidental failure; and it is a known fact, that, after he had discovered and communicated to the world his celebrated process of artificial congelation, particularly as applied to the freezing of mercury, some of the first men of science in London failed of performing it, till the discoverer himself, happening to be on the spot personally, showed them wherein consisted the fault of their manipulation, and at once performed the experiment which had previously baffled all their efforts. It is equally well known to those who were acquainted with him, that the most elegant in form as well as the most delicate in operation of the beautiful instruments invented by himself, were constructed by his own hand, and that this, to him most agreeable employment, constituted the recreation of his leisure hours. The apparatus-room, indeed, contains many specimens of his workmanship in this line, and they are of such a description as would not do any discredit to the most practised and skilful artist. To his immediate successor his acquisitions and his labours will, therefore, be of incalculable importance; but the merit which really belongs to him can only be duly estimated by those who know what he found, when he became professor of natural philosophy, and can compare it with the treasures which he has left behind him.”⁴

⁴ Some further particulars respecting his various talents and acquirements may be gathered from the following notice, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Courant*, and seems to be the production of one qualified in more ways than one to speak upon the subject:—“Sir John Leslie has been for many years known in this country, and over all Europe, as one of the most eminent characters of the age. As a mathematician and philosopher; as a profound and accomplished scholar; as a proficient in general literature, and in history and many other

LEYDEN, JOHN, a man of singularly varied genius and accomplishment, was born on the 8th of September, 1775, at Denholm, a village on the banks of the Teviot, in the parish of Cavers and county of Roxburgh. His parents were John Leyden and Isabella Scott, who had three sons and two daughters younger than himself. His ancestors in both lines had been farmers on the estate of Cavers for several generations; but his father, though skilful in rural affairs, declined to engage on his own account in the same occupation, thinking even the fortunate pursuit of gain a poor compensation for the anxiety that attends it. About a year after the birth of their first child, he removed to Henlawshiell on the farm of Nether Tofts, which was then occupied by Andrew Blythe, his wife's uncle, whom he first served as shepherd, and subsequently as overseer, his master having had the misfortune to lose his sight. The cottage in which the family resided was of an humble construction; its internal accommodations were equally simple; but it was situated at the foot of the majestic hill of Ruberslaw, and there, among the "dun heathy slopes and valleys green," did Leyden imbibe that enthusiasm and manliness of character which afterwards displayed

branches of knowledge, he had few rivals. But it was for mathematical science and its kindred studies, that he discovered, at a very early period, a decided predilection; and it is in the successful illustration of scientific truth and of all the complicated phenomena of physics, that his great reputation has been acquired. In these pursuits he was eminently qualified to excel by the great original powers of his mind, which were further stimulated by an ardent enthusiasm, and an early desire of distinction among the illustrious names of his day. Along with a profound knowledge of his subject, he possessed great inventive powers, which not only enabled him to sound the depths of science, but to expound its important problems with a simplicity and elegance rarely equalled. In making his way through the intricacies of physical research, his severe judgment guided him in the right path; and hence his demonstrations always afford a striking and beautiful display of pure reason, without any tendency to that spirit of metaphysical subtlety which occasionally perplexes the speculations of Laplace, Legendre, with others of the continental philosophers; and it is worthy of remark that, along with the penetrating force of his judgment, he carried into these studies that taste and fancy—that predilection for the beautiful, which may be recognised in all his speculations, whether in literature or in science. His taste in geometry was founded on the purest models of Grecian philosophy; he delighted to expound to his pupils the simplicity and elegance of the demonstrations by the great masters of antiquity; he commended them to their imitation, and expatiated on the subject in a manner well fitted to inspire a kindred enthusiasm; so that we might have fancied that he was dilating, not on the merits of a mathematical problem, but on some of those beautiful forms and classic models of ancient art which have been the wonder of all succeeding times. Nor was this admiration of ancient geometry a mere pedantic or barren speculation. The great philosopher of whom we are speaking carried his principles into practice, and applied the abstract properties of figures with the happiest success to experimental philosophy; many branches of which he greatly extended by his discoveries; and in all of them he developed the most original views, which may yet be traced to important results. The range of his studies was amazingly extensive; and he had accumulated vast stores of knowledge, especially on scientific subjects. He was deeply versed in the history of science, which he had traced from its earliest dawnings in the times of Greece and Rome, through all the subsequent vicissitudes which it experienced during the dark ages of barbarism, till it was revived by the Arabians in the east, and was afterwards improved and perfected by the more brilliant discoveries of modern times. We speak literally when we say, that we doubt if there is a single publication relating to this subject, either in the ancient or the modern languages, which he had not diligently perused; and his knowledge, minute and accurate on every point, and, once acquired, never forgotten, overflowed in his conversation and in his writings. The date of any great discovery was familiar to him; he could give anecdotes or biographical sketches of all the great promoters of science in every age; and the prodigality of his information was not more surprising than the ease with which he preserved its disposition and arrangement, under certain great leading principles, which were the land-marks of his mind, by which the store of facts which he had been treasuring up for years was reduced into order, and each distributed into its proper place in the great system of which it formed a part. For the truth of this remark we may refer to the 'History of the Barometer,' in the Edinburgh Review, and to his papers on Meteorology, and other subjects in the Encyclopædia Britannica, to his continuation of Playfair's Introductory Discourses prefixed to that work, as well as to many of his other productions, which display the great extent of his researches. On other subjects, also, not connected with his peculiar studies, his information was minute and extensive. He was deeply read in Scottish history and antiquities; and on all modern questions of politics or political economy, he had his own original ideas, which he was always ready to express and expound in a fair and temperate strain."

themselves so strongly in his domestic affections, in his love of country, and in his unwearied pursuit of knowledge.

With the inmates of his father's house dwelt intelligence, cheerful content, and piety; and, in this scene of the domestic virtues, Leyden was taught to read by his grandmother, under whom he soon acquired a familiar acquaintance with the events recorded in the sacred volume, the historical passages in the Old Testament having first attracted his attention. There is no circumstance from which we should so readily entertain good hopes of the future conduct of a boy, as that of his having been imbued with his earliest letters by so venerable an instructress; for it argues not only an attentive care to make him spell and pronounce words correctly, but an anxious discharge of the parental duties on the part of the family from whom he is sprung, which cannot fail to produce the best effects on the heart of the young pupil—an effect how different from that which other fathers are doomed to witness, who, as soon as their children's age admits of their removal, despatch them to distant schools to be brought up as well as taught by strangers, and think they have done all that can reasonably be expected from them when they disburse the sums necessary for the maintenance of their offspring! It was considered the highest praise of a Roman matron of rank that “she staid at home and span,” *domum mansit, lanam fecit*; but by far more honourable is the epitaph which might with truth be engraved on the tombstones of many Scottish women of the humblest rank—“she taught her grandchildren to read.” The moral worth which such a system of affectionate training keeps alive in the land cannot be too highly estimated; and, as if to prove its advantage, such men as Leyden now and then emerge from useful obscurity, and make the beauty of their home-bred virtues conspicuous to all the world.

Leyden's taste for reading, once kindled, spread like the *moorburn* on his native heaths, first over the books in his father's possession, and then to the shelves of the neighbours. Some popular works on Scottish history supplied the inspiring recital of the deeds of Wallace and Bruce, which, beyond their immediate benefit, have continued as examples through succeeding ages to cherish sentiments of independence in every generous bosom. Among the other productions with which he was greatly delighted, have been enumerated the poems of Sir David Lindsay, *Paradise Lost*, Chapman's translation of Homer, and the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. An odd volume of the last-named work he obtained, when he was about eleven years old, by a resolute perseverance of solicitation quite commensurate with the ardour of his subsequent literary career. He had received from a companion some account of its contents, and been told that the treasure belonged to a blacksmith's apprentice who resided at some miles' distance from his father's house. The very next morning, Leyden waded through the snow in the hope of being allowed to peruse a part of the volume in the owner's presence—for he had no title to expect a loan of it in any other way; and that he might have leisure to do so, he set out betimes. On reaching the smithy, learning that the lad had gone from home to do some work, he proceeded to the place, and, having preferred his request, met with a refusal. But he was not to be so dismissed, and continuing beside the lad the whole day, he either succeeded in gaining his good graces, or prevailed by the mere force of pertinacity, so that he got the book as a present, and returned home by sunset, “exhausted by hunger and fatigue,” says Sir Walter Scott, “but in triumphant possession of a treasure for which he would have subjected himself to yet greater privations.”

At nine years of age Leyden had been sent to the parish school of Kirktown, where, to writing and arithmetic, he added a little knowledge of Latin gram-

mar. He continued here three years, with the interval of two very long vacations, in consequence of the death of one teacher and the removal of another. At these times he assumed the plaid, and looked after his father's flock when his assistance was needed. His parents now clearly perceived that the bent of their son's mind was for learning, and he was accordingly placed under the charge of Mr Duncan, a Cameronian minister at Denholm, who instructed a few pupils,—he could not usually draw together more than five or six,—in Greek and Latin. "Of the eagerness of his desire for knowledge," says the Rev. James Morton, "it may not be improper to relate an anecdote which took place at this time: Denholm being about three miles from his home, which was rather too long a walk, his father was going to buy him an ass to convey him to and from school. Leyden, however, was unwilling, from the common prejudice against this animal, to encounter the ridicule of his schoolfellows by appearing so ignobly mounted, and would at first have declined the offered accommodation. But no sooner was he informed that the owner of the ass happened to have in his possession a large book in *some* learned language, which he offered to give into the bargain, than his reluctance entirely vanished, and he never rested until he had obtained this literary treasure, which was found to be the *Calepini Dictionarium Octolingue*."

After he had enjoyed the advantage of Mr Duncan's instructions for two years, it was judged that he was qualified for college; and in November, 1790, his father accompanied him half-way to Edinburgh, with a horse which they rode alternately; he performed the rest of the journey on foot. His views being directed to the church, he began the usual course of study by attending the Greek and Latin classes; in the preparations for which he was assiduous, allotting a stated portion of time daily to the tasks of each professor, and employing the remaining hours in desultory reading, from which, having the command of the college library, he was not deterred, like some young men, by any difficulty of determining which books it would be most proper and advantageous for him to read first. His public appearances threatened at the outset to draw down upon him some degree of ridicule; but professor Dalzell used to describe with some humour, the astonishment and amusement excited in his class when John Leyden first stood up to recite his Greek exercise. The rustic yet undaunted manner, the humble dress, the high harsh tone of his voice, joined to the broad provincial accent of Teviotdale, discomposed on this first occasion the gravity of the professor, and totally routed that of the students. But it was soon perceived that these uncouth attributes were joined to qualities which commanded respect and admiration. The rapid progress of the young rustic attracted the approbation and countenance of the professor, who was ever prompt to distinguish and encourage merit; and to those among the students who did not admit literary proficiency as a shelter for the ridicule due since the days of Juvenal to the scholar's worn coat and unfashionable demeanour, Leyden was in no respect averse from showing strong reasons adapted to their comprehension, and affecting their personal safety, for keeping their mirth within decent bounds.¹

The Greek language was long his favourite study, and, considering his opportunities, he became much more intimately acquainted with its best authors than is usual in Scotland, even among those who make some pretensions to literature. The Latin he understood thoroughly; and it is perhaps the best proof

¹ The ensuing part of the present article is borrowed with very slight alterations from a memoir of Dr Leyden, in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1811—evidently, from its "careless inimitable graces," the composition of Sir Walter Scott.

of his classical attainments, that at a later period, to use his own expression, "he passed muster pretty well when introduced to Dr Parr."

Leyden was now at the fountain-head of knowledge, and availed himself of former privations by quaffing it in large draughts. He not only attended all the lectures usually connected with the study of theology, but several others, particularly some of the medical classes,—a circumstance which afterwards proved important to his outset in life, although at the time it could only be ascribed to his restless and impatient pursuit after science of every description. Admission to these lectures was easy from the liberality of the professors, who throw their classes gratuitously open to young men educated for the church, a privilege of which Leyden availed himself to the utmost extent. There were indeed few branches of study in which he did not make some progress. Besides the learned languages, he acquired French, Spanish, Italian, and German, was familiar with the ancient Icelandic, and studied Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian.

But though he soon became particularly distinguished by his talents as a linguist, few departments of science altogether escaped his notice. He investigated moral philosophy with the ardour common to all youths of talent who studied ethics under the auspices of professor Dugald Stewart, with whose personal notice he was honoured. He became a respectable mathematician, and was at least superficially acquainted with natural philosophy, natural history, chemistry, botany, and mineralogy. These various sciences he acquired in different degrees, and at different times, during his residence at college. They were the fruit of no very regular plan of study: whatever subject interested his mind at the time attracted his principal attention till time and industry had overcome the difficulties which it presented, and was then exchanged for another pursuit. It seemed frequently to be Leyden's object to learn just so much of a particular science as should enable him to resume it at any future period; and to those who objected to the miscellaneous, or occasionally the superficial nature of his studies, he used to answer with his favourite interjection, "Dash it, man, never mind: if you have the scaffolding ready, you can run up the masonry when you please." But this mode of study, however successful with John Leyden, cannot be safely recommended to a student of less retentive memory and robust application. With him, however, at least while he remained in Britain, it seemed a matter of little consequence for what length of time he resigned any particular branch of study; for when either some motive or mere caprice induced him to resume it, he could with little difficulty re-unite all the broken associations, and begin where he left off months or years before, without having lost an inch of ground during the interval.

The vacations which our student spent at home were employed in arranging, methodizing, and enlarging the information which he had acquired during his winter's attendance at college. His father's cottage affording him little opportunity for quiet and seclusion, he was obliged to look out for accommodations abroad, and some of his places of retreat were sufficiently extraordinary. In a wild recess, in the deanor glen which gives name to the village of Denholm, he contrived a sort of furnace for the purpose of such chemical experiments as it was adequate to performing. But his chief place of retirement was the small parish church, a gloomy and ancient building, generally believed in the neighbourhood to be haunted. To this chosen place of study, usually locked during week-days, Leyden made entrance by means of a window, read there for many hours in the day, and deposited his books and specimens in a retired pew. It was a well chosen spot of seclusion, for the kirk, (excepting during divine service) is rather a place of terror to the Scottish rustic, and that of Cavers was rendered more so by many a tale of ghosts and witchcraft,

of which it was the supposed scene; and to which Leyden, partly to indulge his humour, and partly to secure his retirement, contrived to make some modern additions. The nature of his abstruse studies, some specimens of natural history, as toads and adders, left exposed in their spirit vials, and one or two practical jests played off upon the more curious of the peasantry, rendered his gloomy haunt not only venerated by the wise, but feared by the simple, of the parish, who began to account this abstracted student, like the gifted person described by Wordsworth, as possessing

———Waking empire wide as dreams,
An ample sovereignty of eye and ear;
Rich are his walks with supernatural cheer;
The region of his inner spirit teems
With vital sounds, and monitory gleams
Of high astonishment and pleasing fear.

This was a distinction which, as we have already hinted, he was indeed not unwilling to affect, and to which, so far as the visions existing in the high fancy of the poet can supply those ascribed to the actual ghost-seer, he had indeed no slight pretensions.

Books as well as retirement were necessary to the progress of Leyden's studies, and not always attainable. But his research collected from every quarter such as were accessible by loan, and he subjected himself to the utmost privations to purchase those that were not otherwise to be procured. The reputation also of his prosperous career of learning obtained him occasional access to the library of Mr Douglas of Cavers; an excellent old collection, in which he met, for the first time, many of those works of the middle ages which he studied with so much research and success. A Froissart in particular, translated by lord Berners, captivated his attention with all those tales "to savage virtue dear," which coincided with his taste for chivalry, and with the models on which it had been formed; and tales of the Black Prince, of the valiant Chandos, and of Geoffrey Tete-Noir, now rivalled the legends of Johnnie Armstrong, Walter the Devil, and the Black Douglas.

In the country, Leyden's society was naturally considerably restricted, but while at college it began to extend itself among such of his fellow students as were distinguished for proficiency in learning. Among these we may number the celebrated author of the Pleasures of Hope; the Rev. Alexander Murray united with Leyden in the kindred pursuit of oriental learning, and whose laup, like that of his friend, was extinguished at the moment when it was placed in the most conspicuous elevation; William Erskine, author of a poetical epistle from St Kilda, with whom Leyden renewed his friendship in India; the ingenious Dr Thomas Brown, distinguished for his early proficiency in the science of moral philosophy, of which he was afterwards professor in the Edinburgh college; the Rev. Robert Lundie, minister of Kelso, and several other young men of talent, who at that time pursued their studies in the university of Edinburgh.

In the year 1796, the recommendation of professor Dalzell procured Leyden the situation of private tutor to the sons of Mr Campbell of Fairfield, a situation which he retained for two or three years. During the winter of 1798, he attended the two young gentlemen to their studies at the college of St Andrews. Here he had the advantage of the acquaintance of professor Hunter, an admirable classical scholar, and to whose kind instructions he professed much obligation. The secluded situation also of St Andrews, the monastic life of the students, the fragments of antiquity with which that once metropolitan town is surrounded, and

the libraries of its colleges, gave him additional opportunity and impulse to pursue his favourite plans of study.

About the time he resided at St Andrews, the renown of Mungo Park, and Leyden's enthusiastic attachment to all researches connected with oriental learning, turned his thoughts towards the history of Africa, in which he found much to enchant an imagination which loved to dwell upon the grand, the marvellous, the romantic, and even the horrible, and which was rather fired than appalled by the picture of personal danger and severe privation. Africa indeed had peculiar charms for Leyden. He delighted to read of hosts, whose arrows intercepted the sunbeams; of kings and soldiers, who judged of the numberless number of their soldiers by marching them over the trunk of a cedar, and only deemed their strength sufficient to take the field when such myriads had passed as to reduce the solid timber to impalpable dust: the royal halls also of Dahomey, built of skulls and cross-bones, and moistened with the daily blood of new victims of tyranny, all, in short, that presented strange, wild, and romantic views of human nature, and which furnished new and unheard-of facts in the history of man, had great fascination for his ardent imagination. And about this time he used to come into company, quite full of these extraordinary stories, garnished faithfully with the unpronounceable names of the despots and tribes of Africa, which any one at a distance would have taken for the exorcism of a conjurer. The fruit of his researches he gave to the public in a small volume, entitled, "*An Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa at the close of the 18th century*," crown 8vo, 1799. It is written on the plan of Raynal's celebrated work, and, as it contains a clear and lively abridgment of the information afforded by travellers whose works are of rare occurrence, it was favourably received by the public.

On Leyden's return to Edinburgh from St Andrews, he resided with his pupils in the family of Mr Campbell, where he was treated with that respect and kindness which every careful father will pay to him whose lessons he expects his children to receive with attention and advantage. His hours, excepting those of tuition, were at his own uncontrolled disposal, and such of his friends as chose to visit him at Mr Campbell's, were sure of a hospitable reception. This class began now to extend itself among persons of an older standing than his contemporaries, and embraced several who had been placed by fortune, or had risen by exertions, to that fixed station in society, to which his college intimates were as yet only looking forwards. His acquaintance with Mr Richard Heber was the chief means of connecting him with several families of the former description, and it originated in the following circumstances.

John Leyden's feelings were naturally poetical, and he was early led to express them in the language of poetry. Before he visited St Andrews, and while residing there, he had composed both fragments and complete pieces of poetry in almost every style and stanza which our language affords, from an unfinished tragedy on the fate of the Darien settlement, to songs, ballads, and comic tales. Many of these essays afterwards found their way to the press through the medium of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, at that time under the management or the patronage of Dr Robert Anderson, editor of the *British poets*, with whom Leyden was on terms of intimacy. In this periodical miscellany appeared from time to time poetical translations from the Greek Anthology, from the Norse, from the Hebrew, from the Arabic, from the Syriac, from the Persian, and so forth, with many original pieces, indicating more genius than taste, and an extent of learning of most unusual dimensions. These were subscribed J. L. About this time also Mr Archibald Constable was opening business chiefly as a

retailer of curious and ancient books, a department in which he possessed extensive knowledge; Mr Richard Heber, the extent of whose invaluable library is generally known, was, in the winter of 1799-1800, residing in Edinburgh, and a frequenter of course of Mr Constable's shop. In these researches he formed an acquaintance with Leyden, who examined as an amateur the shelves which Mr Heber ransacked as a purchaser, and the latter discovered with pleasure the unknown author of the poems which have been already alluded to. The acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and was cemented by mutual advantage. Mr Heber had found an associate as ardent as himself in the pursuit of classical knowledge, and who would willingly sit up night after night to collate editions, and to note various readings; and Leyden, besides the advantage and instruction which he derived from Mr Heber's society, enjoyed that of being introduced, by his powerful recommendation, to the literary gentlemen of Edinburgh, with whom he lived in intimacy. Among these may be reckoned the late lord Woodhouselee, Mr Henry Mackenzie, the distinguished author of the *Man of Feeling*, and the Reverend Mr Sidney Smith, then residing in Edinburgh, from all of whom Leyden received flattering attention, and many important testimonies of the interest which they took in his success. By the same introduction he became intimate in the family of Mr Walter Scott, where a congenial taste for ballad, romance, and border antiquities, as well as a sincere admiration of Leyden's high talents, extensive knowledge, and excellent heart, secured him a welcome reception. And by degrees his society extended itself still more widely, and comprehended almost every one who was distinguished for taste or talents in Edinburgh.

The manners of Leyden, when he first entered into company, were very peculiar; nor indeed were they at any time much modified during his continuing in Europe; and here, perhaps, as properly as elsewhere, we may endeavour to give some idea of his personal appearance and habits in society. In his complexion the clear red upon the cheek indicated a hectic propensity, but with his brown hair, lively dark eyes, and well-proportioned features, gave an acute and interesting turn of expression to his whole countenance. He was of middle stature, of a frame rather thin than strong, but muscular and active, and well fitted for all those athletic exertions in which he delighted to be accounted a master. For he was no less anxious to be esteemed a man eminent for learning and literary talent, than to be held a fearless player at single-stick, a formidable boxer, and a distinguished adept at leaping, running, walking, climbing, and all exercises which depend on animal spirits and muscular exertion. Feats of this nature he used to detail with such liveliness as sometimes led his audience to charge him with exaggeration; but, unlike the athletic in *Æsop's* apologue, he was always ready to attempt the repetition of his great leap at Rhodes, were it at the peril of breaking his neck on the spot. And certainly in many cases his spirit and energy carried him through enterprises which his friends considered as most rashly undertaken. An instance occurred on board of ship in India, where two gentlemen, by way of *quizzing* Leyden's pretensions to agility, offered him a bet of twenty gold mohrs that he could not go aloft. Our bard instantly betook himself to the shrouds, and, at all the risk incident to a landsman who first attempts such an ascent, successfully scaled the main-top. There it was intended to subject him to an unusual practical sea joke, by *seizing him up*, i. e. tying him, till he should redeem himself by paying a fine. But the spirit of Leyden dictated desperate resistance, and, finding he was likely to be overpowered, he flung himself from the top, and, seizing a rope, precipitated himself on deck by letting it slide rapidly through his grasp. In this operation he lost the skin of both hands, but of course won his wager. But when he ob-

served his friends look grave at the expensive turn which their jest had taken, he tore and flung into the sea the order for the money which they had given him, and contented himself with the triumph which his spirit and agility had gained. And this little anecdote may illustrate his character in more respects than one.

In society, John Leyden's first appearance had something that revolted the fastidious and alarmed the delicate. He was a bold and uncompromising disputant, and neither subdued his tone, nor mollified the form of his argument, out of deference to the rank, age, or even sex of those with whom he was maintaining it. His voice, which was naturally loud and harsh, was on such occasions exaggerated into what he himself used to call his *saw-tones*, which were not very pleasant to the ear of strangers. His manner was animated, his movements abrupt, and the gestures with which he enforced his arguments rather forcible than elegant; so that, altogether, his first appearance was somewhat appalling to persons of low animal spirits, or shy and reserved habits, as well as to all who expected much reverence in society on account of the adventitious circumstances of rank or station. Besides, his spirits were generally at top-flood, and entirely occupied with what had last arrested his attention, and thus his own feats, or his own studies, were his topic more frequently than is consistent with the order of good society, in which every person has a right to expect his share of conversation. He was indeed too much bent on attaining personal distinction in society to choose nicely the mode of acquiring it. For example, in the course of a large evening party, crowded with fashionable people, to many of whom Leyden was an absolute stranger, silence being imposed for the purpose of a song, one of his friends with great astonishment, and some horror, heard Leyden, who could not sing a note, scream forth a verse or two of some border ditty, with all the dissonance of an Indian war-whoop. In their way home, he ventured to remonstrate with his friend on this extraordinary exhibition, to which his defence was, "Dash it, man, they would have thought I was *afraid* to sing before them." In short, his egotism, his bold assumption in society, his affectation of neglecting many of its forms as trifles beneath his notice—circumstances which often excited against his first appearance an undue and disproportionate prejudice—were entirely founded upon the resolution to support his independence in society, and to assert that character formed between the lettered scholar, and the wild rude borderer, the counter part as it were of Anacharsis, the philosophic Scythian, which, from his infancy, he was ambitious of maintaining. His humble origin was with him rather a subject of honest pride than of false shame, and he was internally not unwilling that his deportment should to a certain degree partake of the simplicity of the ranks from which he had raised himself by his talents, to bear a share in the first society.

Having thus marked strongly the defects of his manner, and the prejudice which they sometimes excited, we crave credit from the public, while we record the real virtues and merits by which they were atoned a thousand fold. Leyden's apparent harshness of address covered a fund of real affection to his friends, and kindness to all with whom he mingled, unwearied in their service, and watchful to oblige them. To gratify the slightest wish of a friend, he would engage at once in the most toilsome and difficult researches, and when perhaps that friend had forgotten that he even intimated such a wish, Leyden came to pour down before him the fullest information on the subject which had excited his attention. And his temper was in reality, and notwithstanding an affectation of roughness, as gentle as it was generous. No one felt more deeply for the distress of those he loved. No one exhibited more disinterested pleasure in their success. In dispute, he never lost temper, and if he despised the outworks of

ceremony, he never trespassed upon the essentials of good breeding, and was himself the first to feel hurt and distressed if he conceived that he had, by any rash or hasty expression, injured the feelings of the most inconsiderable member of the company. In all the rough play of his argument too, he was strictly good-humoured, and was the first to laugh if, as must happen occasionally to those who talk much, and upon every subject, some disputant of less extensive but more accurate information, contrived to arrest him in his very pitch of pride, by a home fact or incontrovertible argument. And, when his high and independent spirit, his firm and steady principles of religion and virtue, his constant good humour, the extent and variety of his erudition, and the liveliness of his conversation, were considered, they must have been fastidious indeed who were not reconciled to the foibles or peculiarities of his tone and manner.

Many of those whose genius has raised them to distinction, have fallen into the fatal error of regarding their wit and talents as an excuse for the unlimited indulgence of their passions, and their biographers have too frequently to record the acts of extravagance, and habits of immorality, which disgraced and shortened their lives. From such crimes and follies John Leyden stood free and stainless. He was deeply impressed with the truths of Christianity, of which he was at all times a ready and ardent assertor, and his faith was attested by the purity of morals which is its best earthly evidence. To the pleasures of the table he was totally indifferent, never exceeded the bounds of temperance in wine, though frequently in society where there was temptation to do so, and seemed hardly to enjoy any refreshment excepting tea, of which he sometimes drank very large quantities.³ When he was travelling or studying, his temperance became severe abstinence, and he often passed an entire day without any other food than a morsel of bread. To sleep he was equally indifferent, and when, during the latter part of his residence in Edinburgh, he frequently spent the day in company, he used, upon retiring home, to pursue his studies till a late hour in the morning, and satisfy himself with a very brief portion of repose. It was the opinion of his friends, that his strict temperance alone could have enabled him to follow so hard a course of reading as he enjoined himself. His pecuniary resources were necessarily much limited; but he knew that independence, and the title of maintaining a free and uncontrolled demeanour in society can only be attained by avoiding pecuniary embarrassments, and he managed his funds with such severe economy, that he seemed always at ease upon his very narrow income. We have only another trait to add to his character as a member of society. With all his bluntness and peculiarity, and under disadvantages of birth and fortune, Leyden's reception among females of rank and elegance was favourable in a distinguished degree. Whether it is that the tact of the fair sex is finer than ours, or that they more readily pardon peculiarity in favour of originality, or that an uncommon address and manner is in itself a recommendation to their favour, or that they are not so readily offended as the male sex by a display of superior learning; in short, whatever were the cause, it is certain that Leyden was a favourite among those whose favour all are ambitious to attain. Among the ladies of distinction who honoured him with their regard, it is sufficient to notice the late duchess of Gordon and lady Charlotte Campbell (now Bury), who were then leaders of the fashionable society of Edinburgh. It is time to return to trace the brief events of his life.

In 1800, Leyden was ordained a preacher of the gospel, and entered upon the functions then conferred upon him, by preaching in several of the churches

³ A lady whose house he frequented, mentioned to a friend of the editor that she had filled him out eighteen cups in one evening.

in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. His style of pulpit oratory was marked with the same merits and faults which distinguish his poetry. His style was more striking than eloquent, and his voice and gesture more violent than elegant; but his discourses were marked with strong traits of original genius, and although he pleaded an internal feeling of disappointment at being unequal to attain his own ideas of excellence as a preacher, it was impossible to listen to him without being convinced of his uncommon extent of learning, knowledge of ethics, and sincere zeal for the interest of religion.

The autumn of the same year was employed in a tour to the Highlands and Hebrides, in which Leyden accompanied two young foreigners who had studied at Edinburgh the preceding winter. In this tour he visited all the remarkable places of that interesting part of his native country, and, diverging from the common and more commodious route, visited what are called the *rough bounds* of the Highlands, and investigated the decaying traditions of Celtic manners and story which are yet preserved in the wild districts of Moidart and Knoidart. The journal which he made on this occasion was a curious monument of his zeal and industry in these researches, and contained much valuable information on the subject of Highland manners and tradition, which is now probably lost to the public. It is remarkable, that after long and painful research in quest of original passages of the poems of Ossian, he adopted an opinion more favourable to their authenticity than has lately prevailed in the literary world. But the confessed infidelity of Macpherson must always excite the strongest suspicion on this subject. Leyden composed, with his usual facility, several detached poems upon Highland traditions, all of which have probably perished, excepting a ballad, founded upon the romantic legend respecting MacPhail of Colonsay and the Mermaid of Correvrecken, inscribed to lady Charlotte Campbell, and published in the third volume of the *Border Minstrelsy*, which appeared at the distance of about a twelvemonth after the first two volumes. The opening of this ballad exhibits a power of harmonious numbers which has seldom been excelled in English poetry. Nor were these legendary effusions the only fruit of his journey; for, in his passage through Aberdeen, Leyden so far gained the friendship of the venerable professor Beattie, that he obtained his permission to make a transcript from the only existing copy of the interesting poem entitled *Albania*. This work, which is a panegyric on Scotland in nervous blank verse, written by an anonymous author in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Leyden afterwards republished along with Wilson's "*Clyde*," under the title of "*Scottish Descriptive Poems*," 12mo, 1802.

In 1801, when Mr Lewis published his *Tales of Wonder*, Leyden was a contributor to that collection, and furnished the ballad called the *Elf-king*; and in the following year, he employed himself earnestly in the congenial task of procuring materials for the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, the first publication of Walter Scott. In this labour, he was equally interested by friendship for the editor, and by his own patriotic zeal for the honour of the Scottish borders, and both may be judged of from the following circumstance. An interesting fragment had been obtained of an ancient historical ballad, but the remainder, to the great disturbance of the editor and his coadjutor, was not to be recovered. Two days afterwards, while Mr Scott was sitting with some company after dinner, a sound was heard at a distance like that of the whistling of a tempest through the torn rigging of the vessel which scuds before it. The sounds increased as they approached more near, and Leyden (to the great astonishment of such of the guests as did not know him,) burst into the room, chanting the desiderated ballad with the most enthusiastic gesture, and all the energy of the saw-tones of his voice already commemorated. It turned out, that

he had walked between forty and fifty miles and back again, for the sole purpose of visiting an old person who possessed this precious remnant of antiquity. His antiquarian researches and poetic talents were also liberally exerted for the support of this undertaking. To the former, the reader owes in a great measure the Dissertation on Fairy Superstition, which, although arranged and digested by Mr Scott, abounds with instances of such curious reading as Leyden alone had read, and was originally compiled by him; and to the latter the spirited ballads entitled *Lord Soulis* and *the Cout of Keeldar*.

Leyden's next publication was "*The Complaynt of Scotland*, a new edition of an ancient and singularly rare tract bearing that title, written by an uncertain author, about the year 1548." This curious work was published by Mr Constable in the year 1801. As the tract was itself of a diffuse and comprehensive nature, touching upon many unconnected topics, both of public policy and private life, as well as treating of the learning, the poetry, the music, and the arts of that early period, it gave Leyden an opportunity of pouring forth such a profusion of antiquarian knowledge in the preliminary dissertation, notes, and glossary, as one would have thought could hardly have been accumulated during so short a life, dedicated too to so many and varied studies. The intimate acquaintance which he has displayed with Scottish antiquities of every kind, from manuscript histories and rare chronicles, down to the tradition of the peasant, and the rhymes even of the nursery, evince an extent of research, power of arrangement, and facility of recollection, which has never been equalled in this department.

Meanwhile other pursuits were not abandoned in the study of Scottish antiquities. The *Edinburgh Magazine* was united in 1802 with the old *Scots Magazine*, and was now put under the management of Leyden by Mr Constable the publisher. To this publication, during the period of his management, which was about five or six months, he contributed several occasional pieces of prose and poetry, in all of which he was successful, excepting in those where humour was required, which, notwithstanding his unvaried hilarity of temper, Leyden did not possess. He was also, during this year, engaged with his "*Scenes of Infancy*," a poem which was afterwards published on the eve of his leaving Britain; and in which he has interwoven his own early feelings and recollections with the description and traditional history of his native vale of Teviot.

The friends of Leyden began now to be anxious for his present settlement in life. He had been for two years in orders, and there was every reason to hope that he might soon obtain a church, through the numerous friends and powerful interest which he now possessed. More than one nobleman of high rank expressed a wish to serve him, should any church in their gift become vacant; and, from the recommendation of other friends to those possessed of political interest, he was almost assured of being provided for, by a crown presentation, on some early opportunity. But his eager desire of travelling, and of extending the bounds of literary and geographical knowledge, had become, as he expressed himself to an intimate friend, "his thought by day and his dream by night, and the discoveries of Mungo Park haunted his very slumbers." When the risk was objected to him, he used to answer in a phrase of Ossian, "*Dark Cuchullin will be renowned or dead*;" and it became hopeless to think that this eager and aspiring spirit could be confined within the narrow sphere, and limited to the humble, though useful duties of a country clergyman. It was therefore now the wish of his friends to turn this irresistible thirst for discovery, into some channel which might at once gratify the predominant desire of his heart, and he attended with some prospect of securing his fortune. It was full time to take such steps; for in 1802 Leyden had actually commenced overtures to the African Society, for undertaking a jour-

ney of discovery through the interior of that continent—an enterprise which sad examples have shown to be little better than an act of absolute suicide. To divert his mind from this desperate project, a representation was made to the Right Hon. William Dundas, who had then a seat at the Board of Control, stating the talents and disposition of Leyden, and it was suggested that such a person might be usefully employed in investigating the language and learning of the Indian tribes. Mr Dundas entered with the most liberal alacrity into these views; but it happened, unfortunately as it might seem, that the sole appointment then at his disposal was that of surgeon's assistant, which could only be held by a person who had taken a surgical degree, and could sustain an examination before the medical board at the India house. It was upon this occasion that Leyden showed, in their utmost extent, his wonderful powers of application and comprehension. He at once intimated his readiness to accept the appointment under the conditions annexed to it, and availing himself of the superficial information he had formerly acquired by a casual attendance upon one or two of the medical classes, he gave his whole mind to the study of medicine and surgery, with the purpose of qualifying himself for his degree in the short space of five or six months. The labour which he underwent on this occasion was incredible; but with the powerful assistance of a gentleman of the highest eminence in his profession, (Mr John Bell of Edinburgh,) he succeeded in acquiring such a knowledge of this complicated and most difficult art, as enabled him to obtain his diploma as surgeon with credit, even in the city of Edinburgh, so long famed for its medical school, and for the wholesome rigour adopted in the distribution of degrees. Leyden was, however, incautious in boasting of his success after so short a course of study, and found himself obliged, in consequence of his imprudence, to relinquish his intention of taking out the degree of M. D. at Edinburgh, and to have recourse to another Scottish university for that step in his profession. Meanwhile the sudden exchange of his profession gave great amusement to some of his friends, especially when a lady having fainted in a crowded assembly, Dr Leyden advanced to her assistance, and went through the usual routine of treatment with all the gravity which be seemed his new faculty. In truth, the immediate object of his studies was always, in season and out of season, predominant in Leyden's mind, and just about this time he went to the evening party of a lady of the highest rank with the remnants of a human hand in his pocket, which he had been dissecting in the morning, and on some question being stirred about the muscular action, he was with difficulty withheld from producing this grisly evidence in support of the argument which he maintained. The character of Leyden cannot be understood without mentioning those circumstances that are allied to oddity; but it is not so easy to body forth those qualities of energy, application, and intelligence, by which he dignified his extravagancies, and vindicated his assumption of merit, far less to paint his manly, generous, and friendly disposition.

In December 1802, Leyden was summoned to join the Christmas fleet of Indiamen, in consequence of his appointment as assistant-surgeon on the Madras establishment. It was sufficiently understood that his medical character was only assumed to bring him within the compass of Mr Dundas's patronage, and that his talents should be employed in India with reference to his literary researches. He was, however, *pro forma*, nominated to the Madras hospital. While awaiting this call, he bent his whole energies to the study of the oriental languages, and amused his hours of leisure by adding to the Scenes of Infancy, many of those passages addressed to his friends, and bearing particular reference to his own situation on the eve of departure from Scotland, which, flowing warm from the heart, constitute the principal charm of that impressive poem. Mr

James Ballantyne, an early and intimate friend of Leyden, had just then established in Edinburgh his press, which has since been so distinguished. To the critical skill of a valued and learned friend, and to the friendly as well as professional care of Ballantyne, Leyden committed this last memorial of his love to his native land. The last sheets reached him before he left Britain, no more to return.

About the middle of December, John Leyden left Edinburgh, but not exactly at the time he had proposed. He had taken a solemn farewell of his friends, and gone to Roxburghshire to bid adieu to his parents, whom he regarded with the most tender filial affection, and from thence he intended to have taken his departure for London without returning to Edinburgh. Some accident changed his purpose, and his unexpected arrival in Edinburgh was picturesque and somewhat startling. A party of his friends had met in the evening to talk over his merits, and to drink, in Scottish phrase, his *Bonallie*. While about the witching hour they were crowning a solemn bumper to his health, a figure burst into the room, muffled in a seaman's cloak and travelling cap, covered with snow, and distinguishable only by the sharpness and ardour of the tone with which he exclaimed, "Dash it, boys, here I am again!" The start with which this unexpected apparition was received, was subject of great mirth at the time, and the circumstance was subsequently recalled by most of the party with that mixture of pleasure and melancholy which attaches to the particulars of a last meeting with a beloved and valuable friend.

In London, the kindness of Mr Heber, his own reputation, and the recommendation of his Edinburgh friends, procured Leyden much kindness and attention among persons of rank and literary distinction. His chief protector and friend, however, was Mr George Ellis, the well-known editor of the *Specimens of Ancient English Poetry*. To this gentleman he owed an obligation of the highest possible value, in a permission to change, on account of illness, from one vessel to another, the former being afterwards cast away in going down the river, when many of the passengers were drowned.

After this providential exchange of destination, the delay of the vessel to which he was transferred, permitted his residence in London until the beginning of April, 1803, an interval which he spent in availing himself of the opportunities which he now enjoyed, of mixing in the most distinguished society in the metropolis, where the novelty and good humour of his character made ample amends for the native bluntness of his manners. In the beginning of April, he sailed from Portsmouth, in the *Hugh Inglis*, where he had the advantage of being on board the same vessel with Mr Robert Smith, the brother of his steady friend, the Rev. Mr Sidney Smith. And thus set forth on his voyage perhaps the first British traveller that ever sought India, moved neither by the love of wealth nor of power, and who, despising alike the luxuries commanded by the one, and the pomp attached to the other, was guided solely by the wish of extending our knowledge of oriental literature, and distinguishing himself as its most successful cultivator. This pursuit he urged through health and through sickness, unshaken by all the difficulties arising from imperfect communication with the natives, from their prejudices and those of their European masters, and from frequent change of residence; unmoved either by the charms of pleasure, of wealth, or of that seducing indolence to which many men of literature have yielded after overcoming all other impediments. To this pursuit he finally fell a sacrifice, as devoted a martyr in the cause of science, as ever died in that of religion. We are unable to trace his Indian researches and travels with accuracy similar to that with which we have followed those which preceded

his departure from Europe, but we are enabled to state the following outlines of his fortune in the East.

After a mutiny in the vessel, which was subdued by the exertions of the officers and passengers, and in which Leyden distinguished himself by his coolness and intrepidity, the *Hugh Inglis* arrived at Madras, and he was transferred to the duties of his new profession. His nomination as surgeon to the commissioners appointed to survey the ceded districts, seemed to promise ample opportunities for the cultivation of oriental learning. But his health gave way under the fatigues of the climate; and he has pathetically recorded, in his "Address to an Indian Gold Coin," the inroads which were made on his spirits and constitution. He was obliged to leave the presidency of Madras, suffering an accumulation of diseases, and reached with difficulty Prince of Wales Island. During the passage the vessel was chased by a French privateer, which was the occasion of Leyden's composing, in his best style of border enthusiasm, an "Ode to a Malay kris," or dagger, the only weapon which his reduced strength now admitted of his wielding. The following letter to Mr Ballantyne, dated from Prince of Wales Island, 24th October, 1805, gives a lively and interesting account of his occupations during the first two years of his residence in India.

"Puloo Penang, October 24th, 1805."

"My dear Ballantyne,—Finding an extra Indiaman, the *Revenge*, which has put into this harbour in distress, bound to Europe, I take another opportunity of attempting to revive, or rather commence, an intercourse with my European friends, for since my arrival in India I have never received a single scrap from one of them,—*Proh Deum!* Mr Constable excepted; and my friend Erskine writes me from Bombay, that none of you have received the least intelligence of my motions since I left Europe. This is to me utterly astonishing and incomprehensible, considering the multitude of letters and parcels that I have despatched from Mysore, especially during my confinement for the liver disease at Seringapatam, where I had for some months the honour of inhabiting the palace of Tippoo's prime minister. I descended into Malabar in the beginning of May, in order to proceed to Bombay, and perhaps eventually up the Persian gulf as far as Bassorah, in order to try the effect of a sea voyage. I was, however, too late, and the rains had set in, and the last vessels sailed two or three days before my arrival. As I am always a very lucky fellow, as well as an unlucky one, which all the world knows, it so fell out that the only vessel which sailed after my arrival was wrecked, while some secret presentiment, or rather "sweet little cherub, that sits up aloft," prevented my embarking on board of her. I journeyed leisurely down to Calicut from Cananore, intending to pay my respects to the Cutwall, and the Admiral, so famous in the *Lusiad* of Camoens; but only think of my disappointment when I found that the times are altered, and the tables turned with respect to both these sublime characters. The Cutwall is only a species of boroughbailiff, while the Admiral, God help him, is only the chief of the fishermen. From Calicut I proceeded to Paulgaut-cherry, which signifies, in the Tamal language, "the town of the forest of palms," which is exactly the meaning of *Tadmor*, the name of a city founded by Solomon, not for the queen of Sheba, but, as it happened, for the equally famous queen Zenobia. Thus having demonstrated that Solomon understood the Tamal language, we may proceed to construct a syllogism in the following manner: "Solomon understood the Tamal language, and he was wise,—I understand the Tamal language, therefore I am as wise as Solomon!" I fear you logical lads of Europe will be very little disposed to admit the legitimacy of the conclusion; but, however the matter may stand in Europe, I can assure you it's

no bad reasoning for India. At Paulgaut-cherry I had a most terrible attack of the liver, and should very probably have passed away, or, as the Indians say, changed my climate—an elegant periphrasis for dying, however—had I not obstinately resolved on living to have the pleasure of being *revenged* on all of you for your obstinate silence and ‘perseverance therein to the end.’ Hearing about the middle of August, that a Bombay cruiser had touched at Aleppo, between Quilod and Cochin, I made a desperate push through the jungles of the Cochin Rajah’s country, in order to reach her, and arrived about three hours after she had set sail. Any body else would have died of chagrin, if they had not hanged themselves outright. I did neither one nor the other, but ‘tuned my pipes and played a spring to John o’ Badenyon;’ after which I set myself coolly down and translated the famous Jewish tablets of brass, preserved in the synagogue of Cochin ever since the days of Methusalem. Probably you may think this no more difficult a task than decyphering the brazen tablet on any door of Princes or Queen street. But here I beg your pardon; for, so far from any body, Jew, Pagan, or Christian, having ever been able to do this before, I assure you the most learned men of the world have never been able to decide in what language or in what alphabet they were written. As the character has for a long time been supposed to be antediluvian, it has for a long time been as much despaired of as the Egyptian hieroglyphics. So much was the diwan or grand vizier, if you like it, of Travancore astonished at the circumstance, that he gave me to understand that I had only to *pass through the Sacred Cow* in order to merit adoption into the holy order of bramins. I was forced, however, to decline the honour of the sacred cow, for unluckily Phalaris’ bull and Moses’ calf presented themselves to my imagination, and it occurred to me that perhaps the Ram-rajah’s cow might be a beast of the breed. Being on the eve of a new attack of the liver, I was forced to leave Travancore with great precipitation, in the first vessel that presented itself, a Mapilla brig, bound to Puloo Penang, the newly erected presidency on the Straits of Malacca, where I have just arrived, after a perverse pestilent voyage, in which I have been terribly ill of revulsions of bile and liver, without any of the conveniences which are almost necessary to an European in these parts, and particularly to an invalid. We have had a very rough passage, the cabin very often all afloat, while I have been several times completely drenched. In addition to this we have been pursued by a Frenchman, and kept in a constant state of alarm and agitation; and now, to mend the matter, I am writing you at a kind of naval tavern, while all around me is ringing with the vociferation of tarpaulins, the hoarse bawling of sea oaths, and the rattling of the dice-box. However, I flatter myself I have received considerable benefit from the voyage, tedious and disgusting and vexatious as it has been. * * *

“You know when I left Scotland, I had determined at all events to become a furious orientalist, “*nemini secundus*,” but I was not aware of the difficulty. I found the expense of native teachers would prove almost insurmountable to a mere assistant surgeon, whose pay is seldom equal to his absolutely necessary expenses; and, besides, that it was necessary to form a library of MSS. at a most terrible expense, in every language to which I should apply, if I intended to proceed beyond a mere smattering. After much consideration, I determined on this plan at all events, and was fortunate enough in a few months to secure an appointment, which furnished me with the means of doing so, though the tasks and exertions it imposed on me were a good deal more arduous than the common duties of a surgeon even in a Mahratta campaign, I was appointed medical assistant to the Mysore survey, and at the same time directed to carry on inquiries concerning the natural history of the country, and the manners

and languages, &c., of the natives of Mysore. This, you would imagine, was the very situation I wished for, and so it would, had I previously had time to acquire the country languages. But I had them now to acquire after severe marches and counter-marches in the heat of the sun, night-marches and day-marches, and amid the disgusting details of a field hospital, the duties of which were considerably arduous. However, I wrought incessantly and steadily, and without being discouraged by any kind of difficulty, till my health absolutely gave way, and when I could keep the field no longer, I wrought on my couch, as I generally do still, though I am much better than I have been. As I had the assistance of no intelligent Europeans, I was obliged long to grope my way; but I have now acquired a pretty correct idea of India in all its departments, which increases in geometrical progression as I advance in the languages. The languages that have attracted my attention since my arrival have been Arabic, Persic, Hindostanee, Mahratta, Tamal, Telinga, Canara, Sanscrit, Malayalam, Malay, and Armenian. You will be ready to ask where I picked up these hard names, but I assure you it is infinitely more difficult to pick up the languages themselves; several of which include dialects as different from each other as French or Italian from Spanish or Portuguese; and in all these, I flatter myself, I have made considerable progress. What would you say, were I to add the Maldivian and Mapella languages to these? Besides, I have decyphered the inscriptions of Mavalipoorani, which were written in an ancient Canara character that had hitherto defied all attempts at understanding it, and also several *Lada Lippi* inscriptions, which is an ancient Tamal dialect and character, in addition to the Jewish tablets of Cochin, which were in the ancient Malayalam, generally termed Malabar. I enter into these details merely to show you that I have not been idle, and that my time has neither been dissipated, nor devoid of plan, though that plan is not sufficiently unfolded. To what I have told you of, you are to add constant and necessary exposure to the sun, damps and dews from the jungles, and putrid exhalations of marshes, before I had been properly accustomed to the climate, constant rambling in the haunts of tigers, leopards, bears, and serpents of 30 or 40 feet long, that make nothing of swallowing a buffalo, by way of demonstrating their appetite, in a morning, together with smaller and more dangerous snakes, whose haunts are dangerous, and bite deadly; and you have a faint idea of a situation, in which, with health, I lived as happy as the day was long. It was occasionally diversified with rapid jaunts of a hundred miles or so, as fast as horses or bearers could carry me, by night or day, swimming through rivers, afloat in an old brass kettle, at midnight! O! I could tell you adventures to outrival the witch of Endor, or any witch that ever swam in egg-shell or sieve; but you would undoubtedly imagine I wanted to impose on you were I to relate what I have seen and passed through. No! I certainly shall never repent of having come to India. It has awakened energies in me that I scarcely imagined I possessed, though I could gnaw my living nails with pure vexation to think how much I have been thwarted by indisposition. If, however, I get over it, I shall think the better of my constitution as long as I live. It is not every constitution that can resist the combined attack of liver, spleen, bloody flux, and jungle fever, which is very much akin to the plague of Egypt, and yellow fever of America. It is true I have been five times given up by the most skilful physicians in these parts; but in spite of that, I am firmly convinced that "my doom is not to die this day." You are to commend me kindly to your good motherly mother, and tell her I wish I saw her oftener, and then to your brother Alexander, and request him sometimes, on a Saturday night, precisely at eight o'clock, for my sake, to play "Gingling Johnny" on his flageolet. If I had you both in my tent, you should

drink yourself drunk with wine of Shiraz, which is our eastern Falernian, in honour of Hafiz, our Persian Anacreon. As for me, I often drink your health in *water*, (ohon a ree!) having long abandoned both wine and animal food, not from choice, but dire necessity.—Adieu, dear Ballantyne, and believe me, in the Malay isle, to be ever yours sincerely,

JOHN LEYDEN."

Leyden soon became reconciled to Puloo Penang (or Prince of Wales Island), where he found many valuable friends and enjoyed the regard of the late Philip Dundas, Esq., then governor of the island. He resided in that island for some time, and visited Achi, with some other places on the coasts of Sumatra, and the Malayan peninsula. Here he amassed the curious information concerning the language, literature, and descent of the Indi-Chinese tribes, which afterwards enabled him to lay before the Asiatic Society at Calcutta a most valuable dissertation on so obscure a subject. Yet that his heart was sad, and his spirits depressed, is evident from the following lines, written for new-year's day, 1806, and which appeared in the Government Gazette of Prince of Wales Island.

Malaya's woods and mountains ring
With voices strange and sad to hear,
And dark unbodied spirits sing
The dirge of the departed year.

Lo! now, methinks, in tones sublime,
As viewless o'er our heads they bend,
They whisper, "Thus we steal your time,
Weak mortals, till your days shall end."

Then wake the dauce, and wake the song,
Resound the festive mirth and glee;
Alas! the days have pass'd along,
The days we never more shall see.

But let me brush the nightly dews,
Beside the shell-depainted shore,
And mid the sea-weed sit to muse
On days that shall return no more.

Olivia, ah! forgive the bard,
If sprightly strains alone are dear;
His notes are sad, for he has heard
The footsteps of the parting year.

'Mid friends of youth beloved in vain,
Oft have I hailed the jocund day;
If pleasure brought a thought of pain,
I charmed it with a passing lay.

Friends of my youth for ever dear,
Where are you from this bosom fled?
A lonely man I linger here,
Like one that has been long time dead.

Foedoomed to seek an early tomb,
For whom the pallid grave-flowers blow,
I hasten on my destined doom,
And sternly mock at joy or woe!

In 1806, he took leave of Penang, regretted by many friends, whom his eccentricities amused, his talents enlightened, and his virtues conciliated. His

reception at Calcutta, and the effect which he produced upon society there, are so admirably illustrated by his ingenious and well-known countryman, Sir John Malcolm, that it would be impossible to present a more living picture of his manners and mind, and the reader will pardon some repetition for the sake of observing how the same individual was regarded in two distant hemispheres.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY COURIER.¹

“ It is not easy to convey an idea of the method which Dr Leyden used in his studies, or to describe the unconquerable ardour with which these were pursued.—During his early residence in India, I had a particular opportunity of observing both. When he read a lesson in Persian, a person near him, whom he had taught, wrote down each word on a long slip of paper, which was afterwards divided into as many pieces as there were words, and pasted in alphabetical order, under different heads of verbs, nouns, &c., into a blank book that formed a vocabulary of each day's lesson. All this he had in a few hours instructed a very ignorant native to do; and this man he used, in his broad accent, to call ‘one of his mechanical aids.’ He was so ill at Mysore, soon after his arrival from England, that Mr Anderson, the surgeon who attended him, despaired of his life; but though all his friends endeavoured at this period to prevail upon him to relax in his application to study, it was in vain. He used, when unable to sit upright, to prop himself up with pillows, and continue his translations. One day that I was sitting by his bedside, the surgeon came in.—‘I am glad you are here,’ said Mr Anderson, addressing himself to me, ‘you will be able to persuade Leyden to attend to my advice. I have told him before, and now I repeat, that he will die if he does not leave off his studies and remain quiet.’ ‘Very well, doctor,’ exclaimed Leyden, ‘you have done your duty, but you must now hear me: *I cannot be idle*, and whether I die or live, the wheel must go round till the last;’ and he actually continued, under the depression of a fever and a liver complaint, to study more than ten hours each day.

“ The temper of Dr Leyden was mild and generous, and he could bear with perfect good humour, raillery on his foibles. When he arrived at Calcutta in 1805, I was most solicitous regarding his reception in the society of the Indian capital. ‘I entreat you, my dear friend,’ I said to him the day he landed, ‘to be careful of the impression you make on your entering this community; for God's sake learn a little English, and be silent upon literary subjects, except among literary men.’ ‘Learn English!’ he exclaimed, ‘no, never; it was trying to learn that language that spoilt my Scotch; and as to being silent, I will promise to hold my tongue, if you will make fools hold theirs.’

“ His memory was most tenacious, and he sometimes loaded it with lumber. When he was at Mysore, an argument occurred upon a point of English history; it was agreed to refer it to Leyden, and to the astonishment of all parties, he repeated verbatim the whole of an act of parliament in the reign of James relative to Ireland, which decided the point in dispute.—On being asked how he came to charge his memory with such extraordinary matter, he said that several years before, when he was writing on the changes that had taken place in the English language, this act was one of the documents to which he had referred as a specimen of the style of that age, and that he had retained every word in his memory.

“ His love of the place of his nativity was a passion in which he had always a pride, and which in India he cherished with the fondest enthusiasm. I once

¹ We omit the earlier portion of this letter referring to the general character and manners of Leyden.

went to see him when he was very ill, and had been confined to his bed for many days; there were several gentlemen in the room; he inquired if I had any news; I told him I had a letter from Eskdale; and what are they about in the borders? he asked. A curious circumstance, I replied, is stated in my letter; and I read him a passage which described the conduct of our volunteers on a fire being kindled by mistake at one of the beacons. This letter mentioned that the moment the blaze, which was the signal of invasion, was seen, the mountaineers hastened to their rendezvous, and those of Liddesdale swam the Liddle river to reach it.—They were assembled (though several of their houses were at a distance of six and seven miles,) in two hours, and at break of day the party marched into the town of Hawick (at a distance of twenty miles from the place of assembly,) to the border tune of ‘*Wha daur meddle wi’ me?*’ Leyden’s countenance became animated as I proceeded with this detail, and at its close he sprung from his sick-bed, and, with much strange melody, and still stranger gesticulations, sung aloud, ‘*Wha daur meddle wi’ me? wha daur meddle wi’ me?*’—Several of those who witnessed this scene looked at him as one that was raving in the delirium of a fever.

“These anecdotes will display more fully than any description I can give, the lesser shades of the character of this extraordinary man. An external manner, certainly not agreeable, and a disposition to egotism, were his only defects. How trivial do these appear, at a moment when we are lamenting the loss of such a rare combination of virtues, learning, and genius, as were concentrated in the late Dr Leyden!

JOHN MALCOLM.”

We have little to add to General Malcolm’s luminous and characteristic sketch. The efficient and active patronage of Lord Minto, himself a man of letters, a poet, and a native of Teviotdale, was of the most essential importance to Leyden, and no less honourable to the governor-general. Leyden’s first appointment as a professor in the Bengal college might appear the sort of promotion best suited to his studies, but was soon exchanged for that of a judge of the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta. In this capacity he had a charge of police which “jumped with his humour well;” for the task of pursuing and dispersing the bands of robbers who infest Bengal had something of active and military duty. He also exercised a judicial capacity among the natives, to the discharge of which he was admirably fitted, by his knowledge of their language, manners, and customs. To this office a very considerable yearly income was annexed. This was neither expended in superfluities, nor even in those ordinary expenses which the fashion of the East has pronounced indispensable; for Dr Leyden kept no establishment, gave no entertainments, and was, with the receipt of this revenue, the very same simple, frugal, and temperate student, which he had been at Edinburgh. But, exclusive of a portion remitted home for the most honourable and pious purpose, his income was devoted to the pursuit which engaged his whole soul; to the increase, namely, of his acquaintance with eastern literature in all its branches. The expense of native teachers, of every country and dialect, and that of procuring from every quarter oriental manuscripts, engrossed his whole emoluments, as the task of studying under the tuition of the interpreters, and decyphering the contents of the volumes, occupied every moment of his spare time. “I may die in the attempt,” he writes to a friend, “but if I die without surpassing Sir William Jones a hundred fold in oriental learning, let never a tear for me profane the eye of a borderer.” The term was soon approaching when these regrets were to be bitterly called forth, both from his Scottish friends, and from all who viewed with interest the career of his ardent and enthusiastic genius, which, despising every selfish consideration, was only

eager to secure the fruits of knowledge, and held for sufficient reward the fame of having gathered them.

Dr Leyden accompanied the governor-general upon the expedition to Java, [August 1811] for the purpose of investigating the manners, language, and literature of the tribes which inhabit that island, and partly also because it was thought his extensive knowledge of the eastern dialects and customs might be useful in settling the government of the country, or in communicating with the independent princes in the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlements. His spirit of romantic adventure led him literally to rush upon death; for, with another volunteer who attended the expedition, he threw himself into the surf, in order to be the first Briton of the expedition who should set foot upon Java. When the success of the well-concerted movements of the invaders had given them possession of the town of Batavia, Leyden displayed the same ill-omened precipitation in his haste to examine a library in which many Indian manuscripts of value were said to be deposited. A library, in a Dutch settlement, was not, as might have been expected, in the best order, the apartment had not been regularly ventilated, and, either from this circumstance, or already affected by the fatal sickness peculiar to Batavia, Leyden, when he left the place, had a fit of shivering, and declared the atmosphere was enough to give any mortal a fever. The presage was too just; he took his bed, and died in three days [August 28], on the eve of the battle which gave Java to the British empire.

Thus died John Leyden, in the moment, perhaps, most calculated to gratify the feelings which were dear to his heart; upon the very day of military glory, and when every avenue of new and interesting discovery was opened to his penetrating research. In the emphatic words of Scripture, "the bowl was broken at the fountain." His literary remains were intrusted by his last will to the charge of Mr Heber, and Dr Hare of Calcutta, his executors. They are understood to contain two volumes of poetry, with many essays on oriental and general literature. His remains, honoured with every respect by lord Minto, now repose in a distant land, far from the green-sod graves of his ancestors at Hazeldean, to which, with a natural anticipation of such an event, he bids an affecting farewell in the solemn passage which concludes the Scenes of Infancy.

The silver moon, at midnight cold and still,
Looks, sad and silent, o'er yon western hill;
While large and pale the ghostly structures grow,
Reared on the confines of the world below.
Is that dull sound the hum of Teviot's stream?
Is that blue light the moon's or tomb-fire's gleam,
By which a mouldering pile is faintly seen,
The old deserted church of Hazeldean,
Where slept my fathers in their natal clay,
Till Teviot's waters roll'd their bones away?
Their feeble voices from the stream they raise,
"Rash youth! unmindful of thy early days,
Why didst thou quit the peasant's simple lot?
Why didst thou leave the peasant's turf-built cot,
The ancient graves, where all thy fathers lie,
And Teviot's stream, that long has murmured by?
And we—when Death so long has closed our eyes,
How wilt thou bid us from the dust arise,
And bear our mouldering bones across the main,
From vales, that knew our lives devoid of stain?
Rash youth! beware, thy home-bred virtues save,
And sweetly sleep in thy paternal grave!"

Such is the language of nature, moved by the kindly associations of country and of kindred affections. But the best epitaph is the story of a life engaged in the practice of virtue and the pursuit of honourable knowledge; the best monument, the regret of the worthy and of the wise; and the rest may be summed up in the sentiment of Sannazario,

Haecine te fessum tellus extrema manebat
Hospitii post tot terræque marisque labores?
Pone tamen gemitus, nec te monumenta parentum
Aut moveant sperata tuis tibi funera regnis,
Grata quies patriæ; sed et omnis terra sepulchrum.

To this eloquent and highly picturesque memoir, upon which we have drawn so largely, it is only to be added; that the Poetical Remains of Dr Leyden were published in one volume 8vo, in 1819, with a memoir by the Rev. James Morton; and that another posthumous work, entitled Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, and commemorating for the first time an Indian hero little inferior to Cæsar or Napoleon, but, heretofore, totally unknown in Europe, in which he had had the co-operation of his friend, Mr William Erskine, appeared at Edinburgh in 1826.

LIDDEL, (Dr) DUNCAN, a physician of eminence, was born in Aberdeen in the year 1561, and was son to a respectable citizen of that town.¹ He received his education at the schools, and the university of King's college, in his native city. In the year 1579, at the early age of eighteen, he visited the continent, passing over to Dantzic, whence he travelled through Poland to Frankfort on the Oder, where he had the good fortune to meet with a beneficent countryman, Dr John Craig, afterwards physician to James VI., who then taught logic and mathematics. His views, which were previously wavering, were fixed by the kind attention and assistance of his friend, who enabled him to study mathematics, philosophy, and medicine, for three years in the university of Frankfort, where Craig was himself a professor. In 1582, Craig proposing to return to Scotland, his pupil proceeded to prosecute his studies at Breslaw in Silesia, under the conduct of a statesman at that period of considerable note—Andreas Dudithius, to whose attention his zealous countryman had recommended him. In this new sphere of exertion, he is said to have made extensive progress in his favourite study of the mathematics, under the tuition of professor Paulus Wittichius. After spending somewhat more than a year at Breslaw, he returned to Frankfort, where he again turned his attention to medicine, and commenced a course of private tuition in mathematics and philosophy. A contagious distemper which broke out at Frankfort in 1587, dispersing the students in various directions, induced him to change his place of residence for the celebrated university of Rostock. Here he appears to have first acquired celebrity for his professional knowledge and conversational information, and particularly for his knowledge of astronomy and mathematics. He became the companion and pupil of Brucæus, a physician and philosopher of Flanders, who, although the senior of Liddel, both in years and celebrity, acknowledges himself to have received much useful information and assistance from the young philosopher, while Caselius, another companion and friend of Liddel, pays a tribute to the comprehensiveness of his genius and reading, by remarking that he "he was the first person in Germany who explained the motions of the heavenly bodies,

¹ Inscription on a brass plate, in the church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen; Sketch of the Life of Dr Duncan Liddel, Aberdeen, 1790. This pamphlet, understood to have been written by the late Mr John Stewart, professor of Greek in Marischal college, gives so accurate and concise an account of its subject, that little can be added. We are aware of but one work having any reference to Liddel, which has been overlooked. The *Literæ ad Joannem Kepplerum* contain one or two letters from him.

according to the three different hypotheses of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe."

The illustrious individual last mentioned, had likewise studied at the university of Rostock: it is probable that the pursuits of the two philosophers brought them into contact, and the author of the Biography of Liddel, considers it sufficiently established, that they were intimate with each other in after life, and that the Danish philosopher frequently visited the subject of our memoir in his journeys to Scotland. There is, however, a shadow of authority for supposing² that Liddel held the higher rank of an opponent of Tycho Brahe, and maintained a disputation with him on equal terms. The eccentric Sir Thomas Urquhart, who, whatever information he may have chosen to receive on the subject, certainly was enabled to have made himself master of the true state of the circumstances which he related, says, "These mathematical blades put me in mind of that Dr Liddel, who for his profoundness in those sciences of sensible immaterial objects, was every where much renowned, especially at Frankfort de Main, Frankfort on the Oder, and Heidelberg, where he was almost as well known as the monstrous bacchanalian tun that stood there in his time. He was an eminent professor of mathematics, a disciple of the most excellent astronomer Tycho Brahe, and condisciple of that worthy Longomontanus: yet in imitation of Aristotle, (whose doctrine with great proficiency he had imbued,) he esteemed more of truth than either of Socrates or Plato; when the new star began to appear in the constellation of Cassiopæia, there was concerning it such an intershocking of opinions betwixt Tycho Brahe and Dr Liddel, evulged in print to the open view of the world, that the understanding reader could not but have commended both for all; and yet (in giving each his due) praised Tycho Brahe most for astronomy, and Liddel for his knowledge above him in all the other parts of philosophy." It is not improbable that the imaginative author of the Jewel may have thought proper, without much inquiry, to bestow on a person born in his own near neighbourhood, the merit of a conflict in which a Scotsman, whose name may not have then been known, was engaged; at the same time adding to the lustre of the achievements of his countryman. The author of the Life of Dr Liddel observes, "Upon what authority this circumstance is founded cannot be discovered, for there is no mention of it in either of the very full accounts of the life and writings of Tycho Brahe, by Gassendi and Montucla, nor in a large volume written by Tycho himself, concerning this new star; although he there animadverts at great length upon the opinions of many other astronomers, who had also treated of it. Nor could any such controversy have possibly happened *at the time* mentioned by Sir Thomas Urquhart, for the new star there spoken of was observed by Tycho Brahe in 1572, and the account of it published in 1573, when Dr Liddel was only twelve years of age. There is indeed in the volume of Astronomical epistles of Tycho Brahe, a long letter from him to his friend Rothmannus, chiefly filled with severe reflections upon the publications of a certain Scotsman against his account of the comet of 1577, not of the new star in Cassiopæia; but it appears from Gassendi that this Scottish writer was Dr Craig, formerly mentioned, and not Dr Liddel." When we recollect that Liddel and Craig, as intimate literary associates, may have imbibed the same theories, and similar methods of stating them, this last circumstance approaches a solution of the difficulty.

In the university of Rostock Liddel received the degree of master of philosophy, and in 1590, he left it to return to Frankfort, at the request of two young Livonians of rank, to whom it is probable he acted as tutor. He did not long remain at Frankfort on his second visit, having heard of the rising fame of the

* On the authority of Caselius's dedication to Craig, and the funeral oration on Liddel.

new "Academia Julia," founded at Helmstadt by Henry Julius, duke of Brunswick in 1576. Here he accompanied his pupils, and was restored to the company of his old friend Caselius, whom the duke had invited to his youthful establishment.

In 1591, Liddel, by the recommendation of his friend, and of Grunefeldt, an eminent civilian, was appointed to the lower professorship of mathematics in the new university, as successor to Parcovius, who had been removed to the faculty of medicine; and, on the death of Erhardus Hoffman in 1594, he succeeded to the first, or higher mathematical chair. This eminent station he filled during the course of nine years, giving instructions in geometry, astronomy, and universal geography, and keeping the information he communicated to his pupils, on a level with the dawning progress of discovery. In 1596, he obtained the degree of doctor in medicine, and, in a science which was not at that period considered as so completely abstracted from the circle of general knowledge as its practical extent now compels it to be, he acquired the same celebrity which he had achieved in philosophy and mathematics. He is said by his lectures and writings to have proved the chief support of the medical school of Helmstadt; he acted as first physician to the court of Brunswick, and enjoyed a lucrative private practice among the opulent families in the neighbourhood. In 1599, he was elected dean of the faculty of philosophy, a post of honour to which he was frequently re-elected, both by the faculties of philosophy and of medicine. Meanwhile, in the year 1603, he resigned to Henricus Schaperus the chair of mathematics, of which he had remained occupant, notwithstanding his labours in another science; and in the year following, he was chosen pro-rector of the university. The method of studying his profession, and his courses of public tuition had already made Liddel an author of no inconsiderable extent, and, about this period, the same he had acquired probably induced him to present the academical works which he had written or superintended, in a distinct manner before the world. In 1605, was published "*Disputationes Medicinales Duncani Liddellii Scoti, Phil. et Med. Doctoris, et Professoris Publici in Academia Julia Helmæstadii.*" This work, filling four volumes 4to. contains the theses or public disputations maintained by himself and his pupils at Helmstadt from 1592 to 1606; it is dedicated as a mark of gratitude to his early friend and patron Craig, accompanied by the usual multitude of commendatory verses on the author and his works. This book is mentioned by the author of the memoirs of Liddel as having been reprinted at so late a period as 1720. In 1607, he produced a better known work, "*Ars Medica, succincte et perspicue explicata,*" published at Hamburg. This work was dedicated to king James. A second edition was published at Lyons in 1624, and a third at Hamburg in 1628. As in other works on medicine of the period, the range of the author's investigation was not confined to subjects to which the term medical would now exclusively refer; metaphysics were included. Into the merit of this, as a work on practical medicine, it would now be useless to inquire, and we may be content with ranking the merit of the author, according to the estimation of the work during the 17th century, which was by no means inconsiderable. At the time when the last mentioned work was published, motives which we cannot now discover, induced Liddel to retire for the remainder of his life to his native country, which he had frequently visited during his honoured residence abroad. It would appear that he privately left the university, as Caselius remarks that the duke of Brunswick, if aware of his intention, would probably not have permitted so active a teacher to leave his favourite institution, which was then falling into confusion. On his return, he passed through Germany and Italy, and finally took up his residence in

Scotland, although in what part of the country seems not to be known, the earliest information obtained as to his locality being of the year 1612, when he subscribed at Edinburgh a deed of settlement, mortifying certain lands in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, for the support of six bursars in Marischal college. The magistrates of Aberdeen were appointed trustees for the application of the fund, and according to a not unusual practice, the curse of God was denounced against any one who should abuse or misapply it.³ By a settlement dated the 9th December, 1613, he confirmed the previous donation, and left for the establishment of a professorship of mathematics in Marischal college the sum of 6000 merks, which was afterwards profitably laid out on land by the trustees. To the same institution he left his books and instruments. This may be considered the last performance of his active life, for he died eight days after its date, on the 17th of December, 1613. He was buried in the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen, where a tablet of brass, on which his portrait has been boldly and expressively engraved by an artist at Antwerp, was erected to his memory. He is likewise commemorated by a small obelisk erected in the lands of Pitmedden, near Aberdeen—the same which he mortified for the support of bursars. Dying unmarried, the children of a brother and sister inherited his property, and one of the former succeeded Dr William Johnston (brother to Arthur the poet) in the mathematical chair which Dr Liddel had founded.

Besides the literary efforts already mentioned, a posthumous work by Liddel was published at Hamburg in 1628, entitled "*Tractatus de dente aureo*;" being an answer to a Tractate by Jacobus Horstius, who had maintained the verity of a fable, which bore that a boy of Silesia who had lost a tooth, received from nature, in return, one of pure gold. The circumstance was considered an omen to encourage the Germans in their wars with the Turks, and predicative of the downfall of the Mahometan faith. The subject can be interesting only to those who study the extent of human credulity.

LINDSAY, (SIR) DAVID, a celebrated Scottish poet of the sixteenth century, was born about the year 1490. He is distinguished by the title "of the Mount," from the name of his family seat near Cupar in Fife, and which is presumed, though not certainly known, to have been also the place of his birth. The early part of his education he received at Cupar, the after part of it at St Andrews, to which he removed in 1505. Here he remained till 1509. From this period till 1512, there is a hiatus in his history, and it is not known how the intermediate space was employed. In that year, however, he is found to be in attendance upon the young prince, afterwards James V., who was born on the 10th of April, 1512. The particular nature of his appointment, on first settling at court, cannot be ascertained; but it does not appear to have been of a very dignified description. His attendance on the infant monarch seems also to have been divided with its royal parent James IV., on whom he is found waiting as a special servant, on the remarkable occasion of the feigned spectre's appearance before that prince in the chapel of Linlithgow in 1513. Lindsay stood close by the king during the whole of that extraordinary scene, and according to his namesake, the historian, declared that he, along with the other servants in attendance, made several ineffectual attempts to take hold of the ghostly intruder.

The death of James IV., which took place soon after, does not appear to have affected Lindsay's situation at court. He still continued his attendance on the young prince, and this in rather a singular capacity, considering the respecta-

³ In a minute of the council Records of Aberdeen, of date 6th December, 1638, it is ordained that Dr Liddel's bursars shall wear a black bonnet and a black gown, both in the college and in the street, conform to the will of the mortifier, under the pain of deprivation.

bility of his family, although probably it may be thought that there was no degradation, if indeed it was not a positive honour, to take the personal charge of an infant king. This, however, he seems to have done literally, and as is gathered from passages in his own works, much in the character of a dry nurse. The following are one of these alluded to. The lines occur in the dedication of his poem entitled the "Dream" to the king :

Quhen thou was young I bore thee in my arme,
Full tenderlie till thou begouth to gang;
And in thy bed aft happit thee full warme,
With lute in hand, sine sweetly to thee sang.

And again at an after period, when complaining of the neglect which he met with at court, he thus reminds the king of the days of his childhood, and of the playful and tender kindnesses which then passed between them :

How as ane chapman beiris his pack,
I bure thy grace upon my back;
And sometimes strydlinges on my neck,
Dansand with mony bend and beck.
The first syllabis that thou did mute
Was pa, da syne, upon the lute;
Then playit I twenty springis perquier,
Quhilke was great pleasure for to heir;
Fra play thou let me never rest,
Bot Gynkertoun thou luifit ay best.

Lindsay's attendance on the young king was not dignified by any charge whatever, connected with his education. His services were entirely of a personal nature, and were only put in requisition when the royal youth returned from "scole." James's education was intrusted to Gavin Dunbar, an eminent and learned prelate, so that, with all Lindsay's genius, he seems not to have been thought competent to this important and honourable trust. That which he filled, however, such as it was, he retained till the year 1524, when he was dismissed from it, by the intrigues of the queen mother, who, aiming at the sole direction of the national affairs during the minority of the king, carefully removed from the royal presence all whom she feared might exert an influence over the young monarch inimical to her own views and interests, and amongst that number she seems to have reckoned the poet. His dismissal, however, seems by no means to have taken place with the king's consent, although it is evident that he was obliged to submit to it. He was too young to assert his own will in opposition to that of his mother, but he did the next best thing he could for the kind companion of his tender years,—he procured a pension to be bestowed upon him, and took especial care of its punctual payment.

On the king's assuming the reins of government in his own person, and when his will could be no longer opposed, Lindsay was recalled to court, and about 1530, was appointed Lyon king at arms, and as a necessary accompaniment, invested with the honour of knighthood. In the dedication of the "Dream" to the king, already quoted from, and which was written during the time of his banishment from court, although he complains of the treatment which he had received, he not only acquits the king of having any part in inflicting it, but speaks in terms of the warmest gratitude of the kindness of his royal master. He seems, indeed, to have formed a strong personal attachment to the monarch, and there is every reason to believe that it was reciprocal. Lindsay had now begun to make some figure as a poet. He had already written the

"Dream" and the "Complaynt," both productions of great merit; but it was to his talent for satire, a quality which he had not yet exhibited, that he was chiefly indebted for the singular degree of popularity which he afterwards acquired. Of the felicity and point with which he could exercise this dangerous gift, the following curious instance is related by Dr Irving in his *Life of the poet*:—"The king being one day surrounded by a numerous train of nobility and prelates, Lindsay approached him with due reverence, and began to prefer an humble petition that he would install him in an office which was then vacant. 'I have,' said he, 'servit your grace lang, and luik to be rewardit as others are, and now your maister taylor, at the pleasure of God is departit, wherefore I wald desire of your Grace to bestow this little benefite upon me.' The king replied, that he was amazed at such a request from a man who could neither shape nor sew. 'Sir,' rejoined the poet, 'that maks nae matter, for you have given bishopricks and benefices to mony standing here about you, and yet they can nouthr teach nor preach, and why not I as weill be your taylor, though I can nouthr shape nor sew, seeing teaching and preaching are nae less requisite to their vocation than shaping and sewing to ane taylor.' The effect of this well managed *jeu d'esprit* upon the bystanders, many of whom came within its range, may be readily conceived. Whatever might be their feelings on the subject, James himself enjoyed it greatly, and found much amusement in contemplating the angry looks which it occasioned."

This and other witticisms at the expense of the clergy, are supposed by Lindsay's biographers to have been the principal cause of that want of promotion of which he so frequently complains; but this seems doubtful. James himself had but little reverence for the clergy, and it is not therefore likely that he would be displeased with Lindsay for entertaining similar sentiments. Of the king's opinion of the holy men of his time his answer to a deputation of them which waited upon him with a list of protestant peers and chiefs, whom they desired might be brought to punishment, is sufficiently indicative. "Pack, ye jugglers," said he, "get ye to your charges and reform your own lives; be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me; or I vow to God I shall reform you, not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment, nor as he of England by hanging and beheading, but yet by most severe punishments, if ever such motion proceed from you again." It is not, therefore, easy to say, considering the intimate, nay familiar footing on which Lindsay stood with the king, what were the causes that afforded him grounds for his frequent complaints, if indeed, he had any at all that were reasonable, a point by no means made evident. Whatever might be the emoluments arising from his services, they were now occasionally of a sufficiently dignified and important nature. In 1531, he was despatched on an embassy to Antwerp to renew an ancient commercial treaty with the Netherlands, and in 1548, he was sent to the court of Denmark to solicit ships to protect the Scottish coast against the English, and to negotiate a free trade in grain for the Scottish merchants.

Besides being a man of genius, Lindsay was also a man of great practical good sense, if the latter be not indeed a necessary attribute of the former, and this enabled him to see in a peculiarly strong and clear light the errors and absurdities, if not inherent in, at least which had been then engrafted on, the church of Rome, and against these he directed the whole force of his satirical powers, and with an effect which rendered him at once extremely formidable to the clergy, and singularly popular with the great bulk of the people.

Of his talent for ridicule the following exquisitely humorous specimen of his manner of dealing with the impositions of the Romish church will give a correct idea. It is the speech of a pardoner—of one who dealt in miracles and traded

in holy relics and absolutions. It occurs in his play entitled "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis:"

My potent pardonnis ye may se
 Cum frae the Can of Tartarie,
 Weill seillit with ester schellis.
 Thocht ye haif no discretioun,
 Ye sall haif full remissioun,
 With help of buikis and bellis.
 Heir is a rellik lang and braid,
 Of Fynmackowll the richt chaff blade,
 With teith and all togidder;
 Of Collingis Kow heir is a horne,—
 For eitting of Makameillis corne
 Was slane into Baquhiddel;
 Heir is the cordis baith grit and lang
 Quhilk hangit Johnnie Armistrang,
 Of gude hempt saft and sound:
 Gude haly pepill, I stand ford,
 Quhaeir beis hangit in this cord,
 Neidis never to be drowned.
 The culum of St Bryddis cow,
 The gruntill of Sanct Antonis sow,
 Quhilk bure his haly bell:
 Quha evir heiris this bell clink
 Gife me a ducatt to the drinke,
 He sall nevir gang till hell—
 Without he be with Belliall borne.
 Maisteris, trew ye that this be scorne?
 Cum, win this pardon, cum!
 Quha luivis thair wyvis not with thair halrt
 I haif power thame to depairt;
 Me think you deif and dum.
 Hies nane of you curst wicket wyvis
 That haldis you into sturt and stryvis
 Cum take my dispensatioun;
 Of that cummer I sall mak you quyt,
 Howbeid yourself be in the wyte,
 And mak ane fals narratioun.
 Cum win the pardone, now let see
 For meill, for malt, or for money;
 For cok, hen, guse, or gryss.
 Of relikkis heir I haif a hunder,
 Quhy cum ye not? This is a wonder;
 I trov ye be not wyss.

From this it will be plainly seen what a dangerous and powerful enemy the Romish church had to contend with in the person of Lindsay—infinitely more dangerous and more powerful than the ablest preacher or the most acute reasoner. The effect, indeed, aided as it was, by the circumstance of the public mind being already attuned to such feelings and sentiments regarding religious matters, was altogether irresistible; and there is no doubt that this and similar productions of the satirist, tended more to the accomplishment of the final overthrow of popery in Scotland than any other circumstance previous to the Reformation. Lindsay himself was the Burns of his day. His poems were in every mouth, and were equally appreciated in the cottage as in the castle.

Among the lower orders he was especially popular. His broad humour delighted them beyond measure, and there was scarcely one of them but could repeat large portions of "Davie Lindsay" from memory. Indeed it is not yet a very great while since his popularity among this class began to fade. Nor, though now certainly fast losing ground, is he by any means yet entirely forgotten in the country. Many an ancient tiller of the soil, and his equally ancient better half—for what remains of his fame is more vigorous in the country than the town—still cherishes and appreciates the merits of their old favourite native poet.

The dread and detestation in which Lindsay's satirical poems were held by the clergy is expressively enough indicated by their having procured an act to have his "buick" burned during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, when they had regained a temporary ascendancy under that princess, and a wonder arises that Lindsay himself was not subjected to a similar fate; indeed, that he escaped it at all is a circumstance not easily accounted for.

During his lifetime many unfortunate persons were brought to the stake for heresy, and for contemning the ordinances of the existing religion, and how it happened that he, incomparably the most dangerous and most notorious offender of them all should have escaped, is a question that may well be asked; but we suspect it is one which cannot be satisfactorily answered, otherwise than by supposing that he was protected by the strong arm of royalty.

In 1537, Lindsay acted as sort of master of ceremonies on the occasion of the arrival in Scotland of Mary of Guise, queen of James V. He contrived a variety of pageants, and prepared orations for the reception of her majesty at St Andrews, and superintended in person the execution of his designs. Some of them were absurd and fantastic enough, but they were, of course, in accordance with the taste of the times.

Of the concluding years of his life nothing is known, nor is it ascertained when or where he died. Dr Irving states that he survived till the year 1567; but how long he lived after is unknown. He must, however, from this account, have been at least upwards of seventy years of age at the time of his death. Lindsay's merits as a poet are not of the very highest order. Broad humour was his forte, and the specimen given will sufficiently show, that when he trusted to this talent he did not trust to a broken reed. His principal pieces are "The Dreame," "The Complaynt," "The Complaynt of the King's Papingo," "Satyre on the Thrie Estaitis," "Answer to the King's Flyting," and "The Complaynt of Basche the King's Hound."

LINDSAY, JOHN, eighteenth earl of Crawford, and fourth earl of Lindsay, was born on the 4th of October, 1702. He was the eldest son of John, seventeenth earl of Crawford, by Emilia, daughter of James, lord Doune, and granddaughter to the duchess of Lauderdale. His mother having died while he was yet an infant, he was committed to the charge of an elderly female domestic at the family seat of Struthers, in Fife; his father, who was at this time captain of the second troop of horse grenadiers, and lieutenant-general of queen Anne's forces, residing constantly in London.

His lordship in after-life, has been frequently heard to repeat an interesting anecdote which occurred about this period of his life. The duke of Argyle and the duke of Hamilton were one day dining with his father. After dinner a warm debate ensued about the then all-engrossing topic, the union. In the midst of it, the duke of Argyle caught up the young earl, then a child, who was playing about the room; placed him on the table in the midst of the crowd of bottles and glasses by which it was occupied, and, after contemplating the boy for an instant, "Crawford," he said, addressing his father, "if this

boy lives, I wonder whether he will be of your sentiments."—"If he has a drop of my blood in his veins," replied the earl, "he certainly will."—"I warrant, at any rate, he will make a brave fellow," said Argyle, kissing the child, and placing him again on the floor.

In 1713, his lordship succeeded, by the death of his father, to the family titles and estates, and was soon after invited, together with a younger and only brother and two sisters, by the duchess of Argyle, their grand-aunt, to take up their residence with her in the Highlands, where she then lived in retirement. Here he remained until he had attained a proper age for college, when he was sent to the university of Glasgow. His biographer, Rolt, informs us, that while residing with the duchess of Argyle, the young earl had fallen desperately in love with a little Highland girl; but he unfortunately gives no account of the progress or termination of this boyish attachment. The circumstance, however, affords an early indication of the warm, chivalrous, and romantic disposition for which his lordship was afterwards so much distinguished.

While at the university he rendered himself famous amongst his fellow students by his boldness and courage. He led them on in all their battles with the citizens, headed every expedition of difficulty or danger, and stood forward on all occasions as the champion of the college, when any of its members were injured or insulted, or conceived themselves to be so. He, in short, took the whole burden of the university's honour on his own shoulders, and guarded and protected it with the most watchful zeal and uncompromising intrepidity.

From the college of Glasgow he went to that of Edinburgh, where he remained for some time, and then returned to the retirement of the duchess of Argyle in the Highlands. Here he now prosecuted his studies under the tuition of a private preceptor, and continued this course until he attained his nineteenth year.

On arriving at this age, it was thought proper that he should, agreeably to the usual practice in the cases of young men of rank and fortune, proceed to the continent, at once to complete his education, and to improve himself by travel. With this view, he set out in the year 1721, first for London, where he remained for a short time, and thereafter to Paris. Here he entered the academy of Vaudeuil, and continued to attend that seminary during the two succeeding years. His progress in learning, and in the acquisition of every elegant accomplishment while he resided in the French capital, was so remarkable, as to excite a strong feeling of respect for his talents amongst his fellow academicians, who saw him surpassing many students of much longer standing, and attaining an eminence which left him few competitors. In horsemanship, fencing, and dancing, he was considered, even in the refined city of Paris, to be without a rival.

In 1723, he quitted the academy of Vaudeuil, but continued to reside in France till 1726. In the same year in which his lordship left the seminary just named, an incident occurred strongly illustrative of his daring and determined character. Amongst the other sights exhibited during the festivities which were held in celebration of the accession of the young French king, was that of drawing one of the fish ponds in the gardens of Versailles. The earl of Crawford was amongst the crowd assembled to witness this novelty. In pressing forward to the edge of the water to obtain a sight of the young monarch, he was rudely jostled by a French marquis. Irritated by this incivility, the earl instantly caught up the Frenchman, who was in full court dress, in his arms, and tossed him, robes, and feathers, and all, into the middle of the fish pond. The spectators, highly delighted with the unexpected exhibition, burst into immoderate fits

of laughter, in which they were cordially joined by the young king himself, who eagerly inquired who the person was that had thrown the marquis into the water. The latter himself did not think fit to take any notice of the affair either at the time or at any after period.

In 1726, his lordship returned to Britain, acknowledged by all to be one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. On the 25th of December of the same year, he obtained a captain's commission in one of the additional troops of the 2nd regiment of royal Scots Greys. This appointment he held till 1730, when, these troops being disbanded, he again repaired to the duchess of Argyle's residence in the Highlands, and remained there for the next eighteen months. In January, 1732, he once more left this retirement to mingle with the world, being appointed to the command of a troop of the 7th, or Queen's own regiment of dragoons. He was also, in the same month, elected one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage, in place of the earl of Loudon deceased. This honour was again conferred upon him at the general elections in the years 1734, 1741, and 1747.

In the month of June, 1733, his lordship was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales. On the 18th of February, in the year following, he obtained the captain-lieutenancy of the 1st regiment of foot-guards, and on the 1st of October in the same year, a company of the 3d foot guards. Notwithstanding these various appointments, the earl, who entertained from his youngest years a strong passion for military fame, finding his life but an inactive one, and the English service unlikely at the time to present him with any opportunity of distinguishing himself, sought and obtained the king's permission to go out as a volunteer to the imperial army, the emperor being at that time engaged in a war with France.

His lordship joined the Imperialists in 1735, at Bruchsal on the Rhine, where he was received with every mark of distinction and favour by the celebrated prince Eugene of Savoy, then in command of the troops in that quarter. Finding, however, that there was no immediate appearance of active service here, his lordship, accompanied by viscount Primrose and captain Dalrymple, both volunteers like himself, proceeded to the army under count Sackendorff. The first duty imposed on them by this general was to reconnoitre the enemy, who were posted near Claussen. As they advanced towards the French lines they were met by a party of the enemy, three times the number of their own escort, and a skirmish ensued, in which count Nassau, who accompanied them, was killed, and lord Primrose severely wounded by a musket ball close beside the earl of Crawford.

On the evening of the same day, 17th October, 1735, the battle of Claussen was fought, affording his lordship an opportunity of distinguishing himself, which he did not let pass. He attached himself to the prince of Waldeck, who commanded the left wing of the Imperialists, and attended him throughout the whole of the battle. The position in which the earl was placed was the first attacked by the enemy, and was the most sanguinary part of the field. The intelligence, bravery, and good conduct of his lordship in this engagement excited the warmest admiration of the prince, and laid the foundation of his future fame as a soldier.

Preliminaries of peace between the emperor and France having been soon afterwards signed, the earl left the Imperial army, made a tour of the Netherlands and Holland, and again returned to Britain. On his arrival he was graciously received by George II., who honoured him with many warm expressions of esteem. His lordship remained at home for two years. At the end of this period, he again became desirous of exchanging the monotony of

a peaceful and idle, for an active life, and sought the king's permission to serve as a volunteer in the Russian army, under field marshal Munich, then engaged with the Imperialists, in a war against the Turks. Having obtained the royal permission to take this step, he embarked at Gravesend in April, 1738, for Petersburg. On his arrival there he immediately waited upon the Czarina, who received him with the most expressive indications of kindness and favour, and instantly appointed him to the command of a regiment of horse, with the rank of general in the Russian service.

Invested with these appointments, his lordship left Petersburg in the middle of May to join the army, which he effected after a dangerous and tedious journey of a month's duration. Several sanguinary engagements with the Turks soon followed, and in all the earl eminently distinguished himself, both by his military skill, and fearless intrepidity. In one of these murderous conflicts, which took place on the 26th of July, and in which the Turks and Tartars were repulsed with great loss, his lordship, who was at the head of a party of Cossacks, excited the astonishment and admiration of even these bold and skilful riders, by his dexterity in horsemanship. Nor were they less delighted with the gallantry also which he exhibited in this battle, in the instance of a single combat with a Tartar, whom, after a desperate encounter, he sabred and stript of his arms. The latter he afterwards brought to England with him as objects of curiosity.

The season being now far advanced, marshal Munich thought it advisable to retire from the scene of operations, and accordingly retreated to Kiow, whither he was accompanied by the earl, who remained with him for three weeks after the cessation of hostilities. He then left Munich, and joined the Imperialists near Belgrade. The earl had now acquired a large stock of military knowledge, and had been especially improved in the art by his experience under Munich, whom he justly reckoned the first captain of the age. Six weeks after he joined the Imperial army, it was marched into winter quarters. On this occasion he attached himself to prince Eugene's regiment, and proceeded with that corps to Comorra, thirty-three miles S.E. of Presburg. Here, and at Vienna, to which he occasionally resorted, he remained till the middle of April, 1739. During this leisure his lordship employed himself in reducing to method and system the military knowledge which he had acquired, by drawing plans, and writing observations on the Russian campaign; thus availing himself of every means and opportunity that offered, of improving himself in that art, to attain an eminence in which had been from his earliest years the great object of his ambition, and of his fondest hopes.

His lordship now joined the Imperialists assembled near Peterwaradin, under the command of marshal Wallis, and attached himself to his old friend and fellow soldier, the prince of Waldeck, lieutenant-general of infantry. In a short time after, the battle of Krotzka, near Belgrade, was fought. In this engagement, the earl, while fighting the Turks at the head of Palfi's cuirassiers, had his favourite black horse killed under him: another was immediately brought him, but he had scarcely gained the saddle when he himself was struck with a musket ball, which entering the outside of his left thigh, shattered the bone to pieces, and brought him to the ground.

Here he lay for some time in a state of utter insensibility, when he was accidentally discovered by general count Sucheri, who, on perceiving him, ordered some grenadiers to raise him up, and place him on one of his horses. This, however, was all the attention which the urgency of the moment would permit. Having been mounted on the horse he was left to his fate, and received no further assistance until the following morning, when he was found by one of his

own grooms, his face deadly pale, his head uncovered, and himself holding fast by the horse's mane with both hands to prevent his falling off.

He was now immediately carried to Belgrade, where surgical assistance was obtained. On examination of the wound it was at first deemed mortal; but although it certainly shortened his days, it was not immediately fatal. After making some progress towards recovery, his lordship left Belgrade on the 26th of September, being carried on board a vessel on the Danube, with which he proceeded to Comorra, where he arrived on the 27th of December. This place he left on the 28th of April, 1740, and sailed up the Danube to Vienna, which he reached on the 7th May. During all this time his lordship was confined to a recumbent posture by the state of his wounded limb, which still subjected him to the most excruciating agony, and continued constantly emitting splinters from the fractured bone. So desperate and severe was this wound, that his lordship walked for the first time, and even then with the assistance of crutches, only in the beginning of September, 1740; about a year and a half after he had received it.

In Vienna he remained till the 20th of September, when, being advised to try the effects of the baths of Baden, he proceeded to that quarter, and remained there till the 11th of August, 1741. His lordship, still suffering from his wound, which no expedient had yet been able to heal, now proceeded by Presburg, Vienna, and Leipsic, to Hamelen, where he arrived on the 3rd October, and had an interview with George II., who happened to be there at the time. His majesty received the earl with much kindness, and entered into a long conversation with him. On the 23rd of October he took leave of his majesty, and embarked for England. Notwithstanding his absence, the earl's interest had not been neglected at home. In July, 1739, he was made a colonel of horse and adjutant-general, and on the 25th October of the same year, was appointed colonel of the 42nd regiment of foot, or Royal Scots Highlanders. The same inclination to forward his military views marked his return. On the 25th of December, 1741, the year in which he came to England, he was appointed colonel of the second troop of horse grenadier guards.

His lordship's wound still annoying him, he was now advised to try the bath of Bareges in France, and having obtained, for this purpose, a pass from the French king, the *Lynx* British man-of-war was ordered to carry him out. With this vessel he sailed from Portsmouth on the 23rd of May, 1742, and arrived at Bourdeaux on the 30th of the same month.

Soon after landing he proceeded to Bareges, which he reached on the 12th June, and commenced a regular system of bathing, but without much effect; being still able to walk only with the assistance of a crutch and high-heeled shoe. From Bareges he went on the 16th October to Aix in Provence, where he again used the bath, and with much more benefit than he had derived from the same remedy in the former place. Leaving Aix his lordship arrived at Chambéry on the 2nd of November, where he waited on the king of Sardinia, with whom he remained till the 18th, when he proceeded to Geneva. In this city he remained till the 1st of January, 1743. He then visited Milan, Genoa, Modena, Verona, and Venice, and from thence proceeded by Trieste, Gatz, Lintz, and through Bohemia and Saxony, and finally joined the British army, of which field-marshal Stair was commander, at Hochstet, on the 24th of May, where George II. happened to be at the time. At the battle of Dettingen, which took place on the 16th of the following month, the earl commanded a brigade of life-guards, and conducted himself throughout that conflict with a coolness and intrepidity which greatly enhanced his reputation for courage and military skill. During the action, his lordship, on one occasion, ordered the

officers of his brigade to the front, the enemy being within fifty paces of them. He then addressed his men, "Hark, my dear lads," he said, "trust to your swords, handle them well, and never mind your pistols." Placing himself then at their head, he led them on to the charge, encouraging them and animating them by his example as they advanced, the trumpets the while sounding the martial strain of "Britons, Strike Home." The soldiers obeying the instructions of their gallant leader, and participating in his enthusiasm, closed on the French, and drove them before them with prodigious slaughter. In the beginning of the battle a musket ball struck his lordship's right holster case, penetrated the leather, and, hitting the barrel of the pistol which it contained, fell harmlessly into the case. Here it was found by his lordship, who showed it the day after the engagement to the king at Hanau, where he then was, and who, on seeing the earl approaching, exclaimed, "Here comes my champion;" following up afterwards this flattering expression of his opinion of his lordship's merits, by the most gratifying remarks on the gallantry of his conduct on the preceding day.

In this year, (1743,) the earl was appointed colonel of the 4th or Scottish troop of horse guards, and, after the battle of Dettingen, was made a general of brigade. In May, 1744, his lordship joined the combined armies, in camp, near Brussels; but, owing to the over caution of marshall Wade no opportunity offered of again distinguishing himself during the whole of the campaign which followed. In the next year, however, this was not wanting. The duke of Cumberland, having been appointed captain general of the British forces, arrived at Brussels on the 11th of April, 1745, his lordship being then with the army as brigadier-general. The arrival of his grace was soon after (30th April) followed by the battle of Fontenoy. In this engagement his lordship conducted himself with his usual gallantry, and exhibited even more than his usual skill, particularly in conducting the retreat, which he did in a manner so masterly, as procured for him a reputation for military genius not inferior to any of that age. His lordship also wrote an exceedingly able and interesting account of the battle. On the 30th of May following, he was promoted to the rank of major-general.

The rebellion in Scotland now occurring, his lordship was ordered, in Feb., 1746, from Antwerp, where he then was, to his native country, to take the command of the Hessians employed by the government on that occasion, and whose numbers amounted to six thousand. With these troops he secured Stirling, Perth, and the passes into the lowlands, while Cumberland proceeded by the north-east coast in quest of the rebels. On this visit to Scotland, his lordship formed an acquaintance with, and afterwards married, lady Jane Murray, eldest daughter, and presumptive heiress of James, second duke of Athole. On the extinction of the rebellion, he returned to the army in the Netherlands, where he arrived early in June. At the battle of Rocoux, which took place on the 1st of October following, he commanded the second line of cavalry, with which he drove back the French infantry, and threw them into irretrievable confusion. His lordship soon afterwards accompanied the army into winter quarters at Bois le Duc. His troop of horse guards being this year disbanded, he was appointed to the command of the 25th regiment of foot on the 25th Dec., 1746.

In February following, (1747,) his lordship embarked at Flushing for England, landed at Southampton, and proceeded to Belford, where he arrived on the 3d March. Here his lordship met, by appointment, lady Jane Murray, to whom he was married on the day of his arrival. His wound, which had never yet been thoroughly healed, now again broke out from fatigue, and subjected him

anew to all the pain and suffering which he had experienced immediately after receiving it. From Bedford, the earl and countess proceeded to London, from thence to Helvoetsluys, and finally to Bois le Duc, where they arrived in June. On the 22d May, his lordship, previous to his leaving England, was appointed to the command of the 2d regiment of dragoons, or royal Scots greys, in room of the earl of Stair, deceased; and, on the 26th of September following, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general.

On the conclusion of the campaign, the earl, accompanied by his countess, went to Aix-la-Chapelle, for the benefit of the baths there; being still seriously annoyed by his wound, which had again broken out after a second temporary cure. While his lordship was confined here to bed, his young countess—she had not yet attained her twentieth year—was seized with a violent and malignant fever which carried her off in four days. His lordship, who was deeply affected by his loss, and for a time wholly inconsolable, ordered that the body of his deceased lady should be embalmed, and sent over to his family burial place at Ceres in Fife. He himself remained at Aix till the opening of the campaign in 1748, when he joined the duke of Cumberland and confederate army of 150,000 men. His lordship remained with the army till the conclusion of the peace, which took place in the same year. On the 16th of February of the following year, (1749,) he superintended the embarkation of the British troops at Williamstadt, and soon after returned to London, where he died on the 25th December, in the forty-eighth year of his age, after suffering again severely from his wound. His remains were carried to Ceres, and deposited beside those of his countess.

His lordship is represented to have been of middle size, remarkably stout, but finely formed. His manners were mild, elegant, and refined; his disposition generous, brave, and charitable, often beyond his means. His purse, open to all, was especially at the service of the distressed widows of officers, numbers of whom were relieved from misery and destitution by his bounty. His lordship always maintained a splendid retinue, and lived in a style becoming his rank, but was moderate at table, and temperate in all his habits. His judgment was strong, his temper serene and dispassionate. His lordship having died without issue, the titles of Crawford and Lindsay devolved on George, viscount of Garrock.

LINDSAY, ROBERT, of Pitscottie, author of the *Chronicles of Scotland* known by his name, was born about the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was a cadet of the noble family of Lindsay, comprising the earls of Crawford and Lindsay, and the lords Lindsay of Byres. He is not known otherwise than as the author of the *Chronicles* alluded to, and these have not had the effect of eliciting any information regarding him from his contemporaries, which could be of any avail to a modern biographer. He has, in truth, been scarcely recognized even as a literary man by the chroniclers of Scottish genius, and yet, this is the only ground on which he seems to have any claim to commemoration, there being no other circumstance of any interest in his life but that of his having written the work spoken of above.

As to the *Chronicles* themselves, it is not perhaps very easy to determine in what language they should be spoken of. They present a strange compound of endless and aimless garrulity, simplicity, credulity, and graphic delineation; the latter, however, evidently the effect not of art or design, but of a total want of them. He describes events with all the circumstantiality of an eyewitness, and with all the prolixity of one who is determined to leave nothing untold, however trifling it may be.

But his credulity, in particular, seems to have been boundless, and is remark-

able even for the credulous age in which he lived. He appears to have believed, without question, every thing which was told him; and, believing it, has carefully recorded it. After detailing at some length, and with great gravity, all the circumstances of the mysterious summons of Plotcock, previous to the battle of Flodden Field, "Verily," he says, "the author of this, that caused me write the manner of the summons, was a landed gentleman, who was at that time twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the said summons; and thereafter; when the field was stricken, he swore to me, there was no man that escaped that was called in this summons, but that one man alone which made his protestation."

The earnest and honest simplicity of the good old chronicler, however, is exceedingly amusing. He aims at nothing beyond a mere record of what he conceived to be facts, and these he goes on detailing, with a great deal of incoherence, and all the unintellectual precision of an artificial process, neither feeling, passion, nor mind ever appearing to mingle in the slightest degree with his labours. These characteristics of the chronicles of Lindsay have greatly impaired their credibility, and have almost destroyed all confidence in them as authorities.

Where he is corroborated by other historians, or by an association of well known and well established circumstances, he may be trusted, but, where this is not the case, his testimony ought to be received with caution; for, where he does not absolutely create, he is almost sure to exaggerate, and is thus in any event a very unsafe guide.

If Lindsay was but an indifferent chronicler, he was a still worse poet, as will be conceded, it is presumed, after a perusal of the following introductory stanzas of a poetical address to Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, prefixed to the Chronicles:

"O little book, pass thou with diligence
To St Andrews that fair city;
Salute that lord with humble reverence,
Beseeeking him, of fatherly pity,
With entire heart, and perfect charity,
And that he would on noways offend
To look on thee, one day or two to spend.

And there shew him thy secrets more and less,
From the beginning unto the end:
And also you to come utter and express;
Show him the verity, and make it to him kend—
The martial deeds, and also the fatal end,
Of his noble dainty progenitor,
In Scotland lived sometime in great honour.

The Chronicles begin with James II., 1436, and end with queen Mary, 1565. This latter reign, however, is not completed, being carried down only a little beyond the period at which the marriage of that unfortunate princess with Darnley took place.

LITHGOW, WILLIAM, a well known traveller of the seventeenth century, was born in the parish of Lanark, in the year 1583. Nothing is known of his birth or parentage, or of the earlier period of his life. He seems to have attracted very little general notice prior to the publication of his travels in 1614; and even the celebrity which these acquired for him, does not appear to have suggested any inquiry into his previous history.

There is no reason, however, to believe otherwise than that he was a person

of rather mean condition, and poor circumstances, though evidently possessed of an education very far surpassing what was common among the vulgar at the period when he lived. The motives which induced him to leave his native country, to perform a painful and dangerous pilgrimage through foreign lands, are not more obvious than some of the other particulars of his early life. He himself, in the strange and almost unintelligible jargon in which he frequently indulges in the work which records his adventures, obscurely assigns two: the oppression of enemies,—but who they were, or what was the cause of their enmity, he does not say—and an irresistible desire to visit strange lands. It would, indeed, appear that this last was the ruling passion of his life, and that, together with a roving, unsettled, and restless disposition, it was the principal agent in compelling him to undertake the formidable journeys which he accomplished, and enabled him to bear up with such a series of hardships and bodily sufferings, as perhaps no man ever before or since has endured.

From the obscurity in which his early life is involved, it is not, therefore, until he has assumed the character which has procured him celebrity, namely, that of a traveller, that Lithgow is introduced to us.

In his youth, while he was, as he himself says, yet a stripling, he made two voyages to the “Orcadian and Zetlandian Isles.” Shortly after this, he proceeded on a tour through Germany, Bohemia, Helvetia, and the Low countries. From the latter he went to Paris, where he remained for ten months. William Lithgow nowhere gives the slightest hint regarding the source whence he derived the funds necessary to defray the expenses of these journeys; but there seems to be some reason for believing that he trusted in a great measure to chance, and to the casual assistance which he might receive from any of his countrymen whom he might encounter, in the different places he visited. This applies only, however, to the first part of his career; the latter was provided for by a piece of good fortune which shall be noticed in its proper place.

On the 9th of March, 1609, Lithgow again started from Paris on another roving expedition, and, on this occasion, proceeded, in the first instance, directly to Rome. He was escorted several miles on his way by three or four of his countrymen, with whom he had picked up an acquaintance while in Paris, and who, not improbably, supported him during the time of his residence in that city. These persons he describes as gentlemen, and one of them, at any rate, certainly had a claim to this character on the score of rank. This was Hay of Smithfield, esquire, of the king of France’s body guard.

Although thus associating himself, however, with these gentlemen, Lithgow does not speak of them as equals, but in a marked tone of inferiority; leaving altogether an impression that their kindness and attention proceeded from the circumstances of his being a countryman, a man of talent, and of a singular, bold, and adventurous disposition. Having bid adieu to his companions, he trudged onwards to Rome on foot; for such was his usual mode of travelling. He made it a rule, and strictly adhered to it, never to avail himself of any conveyance during a journey when he could accomplish it on foot, and his only deviation was in the cases of crossing seas, rivers, or lakes. During all his travels he never mounted a horse, or put his foot into a carriage, or any description of vehicle whatever.

While in Rome he made a narrow escape from the inquisition; the most sanguinary and ferocious of whose members were at that time, singular to say, Scotsmen. Two of these were from St Andrews. There were besides, one of the name of Gordon, one Cunningham, born in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and several others, and it was from the eager pursuit of these, his own countrymen, that poor Lithgow found the greatest difficulty in escaping. This, however, he

effected by the assistance of a domestic of the earl of Tyrone, who was then residing at Rome. This man, whose name was Megget, concealed him for three days and nights on the roof of the earl's palace, and, on the fourth night, conveyed him secretly out of the city, by aiding him to scale the walls, as the gates and streets were all carefully guarded by persons appointed by the inquisition to apprehend him.

From Rome Lithgow proceeded to Naples, and from thence to Loretto. On his way to the latter place, he overtook a carriage, in which were two young gentlemen from Rome with their mistresses, all proceeding joyously on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Madonna. This lively group insisted upon the lonely pedestrian's stepping into their carriage, but, adhering to the rule he had laid down of never availing himself of any such conveyance, he obstinately refused. Finding that they could not prevail upon him to take a seat beside them, the good-natured pilgrims descended from their carriage, and insisted on keeping him company on foot, and, thus associated, the whole party jogged merrily on for Loretto. Here he fell in with another of his countrymen, of the name of Arthur, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and who seems to have been imbued with some portion of his own restless and rambling disposition. Having spent some time in Loretto, they proceeded together to Ancona, and thence by sea to Venice. Here his companion left him to cross the Alps, while his own "purpose reached for Greece and Asia." Arthur, it appears, had been a domestic servant of the earl of Glencairn. The circumstance, therefore, of Lithgow's making him a companion, would seem to be an additional proof that he did not assume, or pretend to, the character of a gentleman traveller.

Lithgow now proceeded to visit the various islands in the Mediterranean, and thereafter wandered through Greece and Asia, encountering innumerable dangers and difficulties; now shipwrecked, now attacked by banditti, now plundered and maltreated, and, with all this, frequently exposed for days and nights together to the inclemency of the weather; his religion excluding him, in several places, not only from the hospitality of the natives, but even from the shelter of their houses. During his peregrinations through Greece, he met with two gentlemen from Venice, who entertained him kindly for ten days, and, on his departure made him a present of fifty zechins in gold; the first gift, he says, he received in all his travels, and, it may be added, that this is also the first allusion he makes to any pecuniary matters relating to himself. He now proceeds to declare, that if some such instances of good fortune had not befallen him he should never have been able to accomplish his "sumptuous peregrination."

Not contented with the adventures in which he was unavoidably, on his part, involved, there were others which he sought. Like another Don Quixote, he released captives, or at least assisted them to effect their escape, and came to the aid of distressed damsels. Altogether, he appears to have been a singularly benevolent and kind-hearted man; ready at all times to peril his life for the injured or oppressed, whenever he thought such a risk could be of service to them.

From Greece Lithgow proceeded over-land to Egypt, and finally reached Grand Cairo. During his journey thither, he had the good fortune to fall in with three Dutchmen at Jerusalem, who were journeying with a caravan in the same direction. These he joined, and kept by them until they reached the Egyptian capital. Here his three companions speedily killed themselves by drinking "strong Cyprus wine without mixture of water." Each as they died left the survivors all his property, and the last bequeathed the whole accumu-

lated amount to Lithgow. He had, however, some difficulty in rescuing his legacy from the grasp of the Venetian consul; but by sacrificing a part he obtained possession of the remainder, which amounted to nine hundred and forty-two zechins of gold, besides rings and tablets.

Thanking God for his good fortune, he now proceeded, quite at his ease as to money matters, to inspect every thing that was curious in the city. From Cairo he proceeded to Alexandria, where he embarked for Malta. From thence he sailed for Sicily, walked afterwards to Paris, and finally came over to England, where he presented to king James, to queen Anne, and to prince Charles, "certain rare gifts and notable relicks brought from Jordan and Jerusalem."

After remaining in London for about a year, Lithgow's propensity to roving again became too strong to be resisted, and he set out upon a second expedition. He now traversed the Netherlands and Switzerland, and from thence proceeded to Calabria. Here another windfall came in his way, but it was one of a much more questionable nature in point of morality than that which met him at Cairo. Between Saramutza and Castello Franco, he found the dead bodies of two young barens lying in a field, who had just killed each other in a duel. Seeing that they were richly clad, Lithgow, "to speak the truth," as he himself says, searched their pockets, and found two silken purses well filled with Spanish pistoles. These, together with certain rings which they wore on their fingers, he carried off, and appropriated to his own use; and he thus moralizes on the fact. "Well, in the mutability of time there is ay some fortune falleth by accident, whether lawful or not, I will not question. It was now mine that was last theirs; and to save the thing that was not lost, I travelled that day thirty miles further to Terra Nova."

Lithgow now visited Africa, traversing Barbary, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Then, crossing over to Italy, he perambulated Hungary, Germany, and Poland, and finally reached Dantzic, where he embarked for England, and once more arrived in safety in London. He was now an object of curiosity and interest, and, while he remained in England, was frequently admitted to familiar audiences of his majesty, and was at all times a welcome guest at the tables of the first nobility and gentlemen in the kingdom, where he repaid their civilities by relating the story of his adventures.

Lithgow's spirit of adventure and singular restlessness of disposition, however, were still unsubdued; and neither all that he had seen, nor all that he had suffered, could induce him to settle at home. In 1619, he again set out on another roving expedition, but on this occasion he was furnished with letters of recommendation from king James, addressed to "all kings, princes, and dukes." Provided with these documents he proceeded to Ireland. From thence he sailed for France, travelled through Portugal and Spain, and finally arrived at Malaga. Here he was apprehended as a spy, and accused of giving intelligence to some English ships which were then on the Spanish coast, respecting the return of the Plate fleet.

All poor Lithgow's proofs and asseverations of innocence availed him nothing. He was subjected to the most dreadful tortures. His limbs were mangled and crushed, and his body torn and lacerated with tightened cords and other engines of torture. His innocence as a spy was ultimately established to the satisfaction even of his persecutors; but he was then handed over to the Inquisition, which inflicted upon him a fresh series of tortures not less horrible than the first.

Maimed and mutilated, Lithgow was at length liberated by the interference of the English consul and of several English residents in Malaga, from whom

all knowledge of the unfortunate traveller's fate had been carefully concealed until it was discovered to them by accident.

Shortly after his release he was carried on board of an English ship, for his person was so fearfully mangled that he was not only wholly unable to walk, but was apparently beyond hope of recovery. In this state, on his arrival in England, which was in 1621, he was exhibited, lying on a feather bed, to the king and the whole of the court, all the persons of whom it was composed, crowding to see him. His miserable situation excited universal sympathy, and might under a more spirited prince have become the ground of a national quarrel with the country in which the cruelty and injustice had been inflicted. If his majesty, however, failed in avenging the unhappy traveller's injuries, he was not wanting in compassion for his sufferings. He was twice sent to Bath at the royal expense, and maintained by the same hand for seven and twenty weeks, until he had in a great measure recovered his original health and strength, "although," he says, "my left arm and crushed bones be incurable."

Soon after his arrival in England, Lithgow was carried, by the king's direction to the residence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at the English court, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure some redress of his grievances. By this celebrated person he was treated with characteristic duplicity. Lithgow, finding the case hopeless, accused the Spaniard, in the presence chamber, and before a crowd of courtiers, of deceit and ungentlemanlike conduct. This charge he followed up with an act of violence on the person of the ambassador, for which, though his spirited conduct was much applauded, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he was confined nine weeks. Lithgow after this made several attempts to procure some sort of redress or compensation from the house of commons, by a bill of grievances, but none of these were successful. The last effort of this kind which he made was in 1626. In the year following he returned to Scotland; and still under the influence of that spirit which had urged him to roam through the world for so many years, he undertook a tour through the western isles. He speaks of himself as having been in the island of Arran in the year 1628; but from this period little more is known regarding him. He finally, however, and probably soon after this, returned to his native parish, where he remained till his death; but when this took place is uncertain. He was interred in the church-yard of Lanark, and is yet familiarly spoken of in that part of the country, where it is said several of his descendents still exist. The place of his sepulture is unmarked by any memorial, and cannot therefore be pointed out.

The first edition of his travels was printed in 1614, 4to. This work was again reprinted in the reign of Charles I., with a dedication to that monarch. He also published an account of the siege of Buda in 1637, a circumstance which shows that he had attained a considerable age; as in 1637, he would be in his 54th year.

LIVINGSTON, JOHN, one of the most revered names in Scottish ecclesiastical history. He was born at Kilsyth in Stirlingshire, (then called Monybroch), on the 21st of June, 1603. His father, Mr William Livingston, who officiated as minister of Monybroch from 1600 to 1614, and was then translated to Lanark, was the son of Mr Alexander Livingston, his predecessor, in the charge of the parish of Monybroch, and who, in his turn, was a grandson of Alexander, fifth lord Livingston, one of the nobles intrusted with the keeping of queen Mary in her infancy, and the ancestor of the earls of Linlithgow and Callender. His mother was Agnes Livingston, daughter of Alexander Livingston, a cadet of the house of Dunnipace. His christian name he received at baptism in compliance with the request of lady Lillias Graham.¹

¹ A gentlewoman of the house of Wigton, with whom, as with many persons of equal

"Worthy famous Mr John Livingston," as he was fondly termed by his contemporaries, received the rudiments of learning at home, and at the age of ten was sent to study the classics under Mr Wallace, a respectable teacher at Stirling. During the first year he made little progress, and was rather harshly treated by the schoolmaster; this was corrected by a remonstrance from his father, after which he profited very rapidly by his studies. When he had completed his third year at Stirling, it was proposed that he should go to the Glasgow university; but his father eventually determined that he should remain another year at school, and this, he informs us,² was the most profitable year he had at school, being chiefly devoted to a course of classical reading. During the time of his residence in Stirling, Mr Patrick Simpson, a clergyman of much note, officiated in the parish church; and Mr Livingston relates, that, on receiving the communion from his hands, he experienced a physical agitation of an uncommon character, which he believed to have been occasioned "by the Lord for the first time working upon his heart." At his father's house in Lanark, to which he returned in 1617, in order to attend the death-bed of his mother, he had further opportunities of profiting religiously; for it was the occasional resort of some of the most distinguished clergymen and "professors" of that age. The celebrated Mr Robert Bruce was among the number of the former; and of the latter were the countess of Wigton (whom Livingston himself calls the "rare"), lady Lillias Graham, already mentioned, lady Culross, still more famous than any of the rest, and lady Barnton. It seems to have then been a common practice for such persons as were conspicuous for religious earnestness, of whatever rank, to resort much to each other's houses, and to take every opportunity, when on a journey, to spend a night in a kindred domestic circle, where they might, in addition to common hospitalities, enjoy the fellowship of a common faith. To a large mingling in society of this kind, we are no doubt to attribute much of the sanctity for which Mr Livingston was remarkable through life.

The subject of our memoir received his academical education at the university of St Andrews, where Mr Robert Boyd was then principal, and Mr Robert Blair, another eminent divine, the professor of theology. Being tempted at this time by some proposals for a secular profession, he adopted the expedient of retiring to a cave on the banks of Mouse-water (perhaps the same which sheltered Wallace), where he spent a whole day in spiritual meditation, and ultimately resolved to become a preacher of the gospel, as the only means of securing his own eternal interests. During the progress of his subsequent studies in divinity, he gave token of that firm adherence to presbyterian rules which characterized him in his maturer years. He was sitting with some of the people and a few of his fellow students in a church in Glasgow, when the archbishop (Law) came to celebrate the communion for the first time after the episcopal fashion established by the Perth articles. Seeing the people all sitting as usual, Law desired them to kneel, which some did, but among the recusants were Livingston and the little party of students. The archbishop commanded them either to kneel or depart: to this Livingston boldly replied, that "there was no warrant for kneeling, and, for want of it, no one ought to be excommunicated." Law only caused those near them to move, in order that they might remove.

Mr Livingston became a preacher in 1625, and for a considerable time preached for his father at Lanark, or in the neighbouring parish churches. He had several calls to vacant churches, especially to Anwoth in Galloway, which

rank, his father was on intimate terms of personal and religious friendship, and whose father, husband, and eldest son, were all of the same appellation.

² In his life, written by himself, Glasgow, 1754.

was afterwards filled by the celebrated Rutherford. The increasing rigour of the episcopal regulations appears to have prevented him from obtaining a settlement. He was at length, in 1627, taken into the house of the earl of Wigton at Cumbernauld, as chaplain, with permission to preach in the hall to such strangers as chose to accompany the family in their devotions, and also to minister occasionally in the neighbouring pulpits. He was living in this manner when he produced the celebrated revival of religion at the kirk of Shotts. This, it seems, was a place where he always found himself in the enjoyment of an unusual degree of "liberty" in preaching. On Sunday, June 20, 1630, the communion was celebrated at Shotts to a large assemblage of people, among whom were all the more eminently pious women of rank in that part of the country. The impression produced by the solemnities of the day was so very great, that many did not depart, but spent the whole night in prayer and conference.³ Among these was Mr Livingston, who being requested to give a sermon next morning to the still lingering multitude, walked forth very early into the fields. Here, he says, "there came such a misgiving of spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the multitude and expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stolen away somewhere." He had actually gone to some distance, and was losing sight of the kirk of Shotts, when the words, "Was I ever a barren wilderness or a land of darkness," were brought into his heart with such an overcoming power, as constrained him to return. In the ensuing service he "got good assistance about an hour and a half" upon the text, Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you," &c. "In the end," says Mr Livingston, "offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time, in a strain of exhortation and warning, with such liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the like in public all my lifetime." The effect of the address is spoken of by Fleming, in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," as "an extraordinary appearance of God, and down-pouring of the Spirit, with a strange unusual motion on the hearers," insomuch that five hundred, it was calculated, had at that time, "a discernible change wrought upon them, of whom most proved lively christians afterwards. It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so as many of the most eminent christians in that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation of their case, from that day." The importance of such a sermon, in propagating religion in a country where it was as yet but imperfectly introduced, has given this event a prominent place—not perhaps in the history of the *church* of Scotland, but certainly in the history of the *gospel*. It caused Monday sermons after the celebration of the communion to become general, and appears to have been the origin of that now habitual practice.

Livingston gives some curious particulars in reference to this signally successful preaching. He officiated on the ensuing Thursday at Kilmarnock, and there he was favoured with some remains, as it were, of the afflatus which had inspired him on the former day. Next Monday, however, preaching in Irvine, "I was so deserted," says he, "that the points I had meditated and written, and had fully in my memory, I was not, for my heart, able to get them pronounced. So it pleased the Lord to counterbalance his dealings, and hide pride from man. This so discouraged me, that I was upon resolution for some time not to preach—at least, not in Irvine; but Mr David Dickson could not suffer me to go from thence till I preached the next Sabbath, to get, as he expressed it, amends of the Devil. And so I stayed, and preached with some tolerable freedom."

³ The bed-room of lady Culross was filled with people, to whom she prayed "three large hours' time,"—"having great motion upon her."—*Livingston's Life*, MS. Ad. Lib.

Finding all prospect of a parochial settlement in his native country precluded by the bishops, Mr Livingston was induced, in August, 1630, to accept the charge of the parish of Killinchie, in the north of Ireland, where a considerable portion of the population consisted of Scots. Here he ministered with great success, insomuch that, by one sermon preached in the neighbouring parish of Holywood, he was calculated to have converted a thousand persons in as effectual a manner as he had done the five hundred at Shotts. Such extensive utility is, perhaps, only to be expected in a country such as Scotland and Ireland then were, and as America has more recently been ; but yet, as similar acts are recorded of no contemporary clergyman whose name is familiar to us, we must necessarily conclude, that there was something in the oratorical talents and spiritual gifts of Mr Livingston, which marked him out as a most extraordinary man. His success, as a minister, is less agreeably proved in another way—by the persecution, namely, of the bishop in whose diocese he officiated. After being once suspended and replaced, he was, in May, 1632, deposed, along with Messrs Blair, Welsh, and Dunbar ; after which, he could only hold private meetings with his flock. He and several of his people were now become so desperate, as to the enjoyment of religion, in their own way, under British institutions, that they formed a resolution to emigrate to America. He accordingly set sail from Weymouth ; but being driven back by a contrary wind, some circumstances induced him to change his mind. Almost immediately after his return, he and his deposed brethren were reinstated by a letter of the lord deputy Strafford ; and, for a year and a half, he continued to preach at Killinchie.

Mr Livingston's salary, in this charge, was only four pounds a-year ; yet he takes pains to assure us, that notwithstanding all his travels from place to place, and also occasional visits to Scotland, he never wanted money. He lets slip, afterwards, however, that he received sums occasionally from the countesses of Eglintoune and Wigton, and other devout ladies. His mode of life was so fully justified by the circumstances of the times, which rendered it by no means singular, that Mr Livingston was not deterred from forming a matrimonial connexion. He had formed an attachment to the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, "of most worthy memory." The young lady was also recommended to him by the favourable speeches of many of his friends. Yet—and the fact is a curious trait of the age and of the man—he spent nine months "in seeking directions from God," before he could make up his mind to pay his addresses. "It is like," he says, "I might have been longer in that darkness, except the Lord had presented me an occasion of our conferring together ; for, in November 1634, when I was going to the Friday meeting at Antrim, [the lady was then residing on a visit in Ireland,] I forgathered with her and some others, going thither, and propounded to them, by the way, to confer upon a text, whereon I was to preach the day after at Antrim ; wherein I found her conference so just and spiritual, that I took that for some answer to my prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to confer with her. Four or five days after, I proposed the matter, and desired her to think upon it ; and, after a week or two, I went to her mother's house, and, being alone with her, desiring her answer, I went to prayer, and desired her to pray, which at last she did : and in that time I got abundant clearness that it was the Lord's mind that I should marry her, and then propounded the matter more fully to her mother ; and, albeit, I was then fully cleared, I may truly say it was about a month after, before I got marriage affection to her, although she was, for personal endowments, beyond many of her equals, and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer ; but, thereafter, I had greater difficulty to moderate it."

The parties, having proceeded to Edinburgh, were married in the West Church there, June 23, 1635, under circumstances of proper solemnity, notwithstanding that archbishop Spottiswood, chancellor of Scotland, was understood to have issued orders for the apprehension of Mr Livingston some days before. The wedding was attended by the earl of Wigton and his son lord Fleming, and a number of other pious friends. Having returned to Ireland, he was, in the ensuing November, once more deposed, and even, it appears, excommunicated. He continued, nevertheless, to hold forth at private meetings in his own house, where Blair, also again deposed, took up his abode. At length, in renewed despair, he once more embarked, along with his wife, for the American colonies; but, strange to say, after having sailed to a point nearer to the banks of Newfoundland than to any part of Europe, he was again driven back; after which, conceiving it "to be the Lord's will that he should not go to New England," he made no further attempt.

For about two years, Mr Livingston preached occasionally, but always in a somewhat furtive manner, both in Ireland and Scotland. He was in the latter country in 1637, when at length the bishops brought matters to such a crisis, as terminated their supremacy in Scotland, and enabled such divines as Mr Livingston to open their mouths without fear. Mr Livingston was present at Lanark when the covenant was received by the congregation of that place; and he says, that, excepting at the Kirk of Shotts, he never saw such motions from the Spirit of God; "a thousand persons, all at once, lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes." Being commissioned to proceed to London, to confer with the friends of the cause, in reference to this grand national movement, he disguised himself in a grey coat and a grey montero cap, for the purpose of avoiding the notice of the English authorities. An accident which befell him on the way, confined him, after his arrival in the metropolis, to his chamber; but he was there visited by many friends of liberty in church and state, including several of the English nobility. He had not been long in London, when the marquis of Hamilton informed him, through a mutual friend, that the king was aware of his coming, and threatened "to put a pair of fetters about his feet." He was, therefore, obliged to retire precipitately to his own country.

In July 1638, Mr Livingston was enabled, under the new system of things, to enter upon the ministry of the parish of Stranraer, in Wigtonshire; a place with which he had long been familiar, in consequence of his frequently passing that way to and from Ireland. Here his zeal and eloquence appear to have been deeply appreciated, insomuch that the people flocked even to hear his private family devotions, filling his house to such a degree, that he had at length to perform these exercises in the church. It is a still more striking proof of his gifts, that multitudes of his Irish friends used to come over twice a-year to be present at his ministrations of the communion. On one occasion, he had no fewer than five hundred of these far-travelled strangers; on another, he had twenty-eight of their children to baptize! Such was then the keen appreciation of "free preaching," and the difficulty of obtaining it under the restrictions of the episcopal system, that some of these people were induced to remove to Stranraer, simply that they might be of the congregation of Mr Livingston. It is confessed, indeed, by the subject of our memoir, that the obstructions which the Irish presbyterians encountered at that time, in hearing the gospel preached after their own way, tended materially to excite and keep alive religious impressions in their hearts. "The perpetual fear," he says, "that the bishops would put away their ministers, made them, with

great hunger, wait on the ordinances." The narrow views of that age prevented the king or his ecclesiastical friends from seeing the tendency of their measures; but the result was exactly accordant to the more extended philosophy of our own times. We have now less persecution, and, naturally, a great deal more indifference.

It is a fact of too great importance to be overlooked, that Mr Livingston was a member of the general assembly, which met at Glasgow in November 1638, and decreed, so far as an unconstituted association of the clergy could do so, the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland. He accompanied the army in the campaign of 1640, as chaplain to the regiment of the earl of Cassillis, and was present at the battle of Newburn, of which he composed a narrative. In November, he returned to Stranraer, where, in one Sunday, notwithstanding the smallness and poverty of the town, he raised a contribution of no less than forty-five pounds sterling, for the use of the army. A large portion of this, it must be remarked, was given by one poor woman under very peculiar circumstances. She had laid aside, as a portion to her daughter, seven twenty-two shilling pieces and an eleven-pound piece: the Lord, she said, had lately taken her daughter, and, having resolved to give him her portion also, she now brought forward her little hoard, in aid of that cause which she seriously believed to be his. In these traits of humble and devoted piety, there is something truly affecting; and even those who are themselves least disposed to such a train of mind, must *feel* that they are so.

Mr Livingston appears to have always retained a warm feeling towards the presbyterians of the north of Ireland. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, when these poor people fled in a body from the fury of the catholics, multitudes came into Scotland, by the way of Stranraer. Of the money raised in Scotland to relieve the refugees, £1000 Scots was sent to Mr Livingston, who distributed it in small sums, rarely exceeding half-a-crown, to the most necessitous. He complains, in his memoirs, that out of all the afflicted multitudes who came in his way, he hardly observed one person "sufficiently sensible of the Lord's hand" in their late calamity, or of their own deserving of it, "so far had the stroke seized their spirits as well as bodies." This is a remark highly characteristic of the age. One more valuable occurs afterwards. Being sent over to Ireland with the Scottish army, "he found," he says, "a great alteration in the country; many of those who had been civil before, were become many ways exceeding loose; yea, sundry who, as could be conceived, had true grace, were declined much in tenderness; so, as it would seem, *the sword opens a gap, and makes every body worse than before*, an inward plague coming with the outward; yet some few were in a very lively condition." If Mr Livingston had not been accustomed to regard everything in a spiritual light, he would have argued upon both matters with a view simply to physical causes. He would have traced the savage conduct of the catholic Irish to the united operation of a false religion, and the inhumane dominancy of a race of conquerors; and the declining piety of the presbyterians to that mental stupor which an unwonted accumulation of privations, oppressions, and dangers, can hardly fail to produce. It is strange to a modern mind, to see men, in the first place, violating the most familiar and necessary laws respecting their duty to their neighbours, (as the English may be said to have done in reference to the native Irish,) and then to hear the natural consequences of such proceedings, described as a manifestation of divine wrath towards a class of people who were totally unconnected with the cause.

Mr Livingston was minister of Stranraer for ten years, during which time he had not only brought his own flock into a state of high religious culture, but

done much, latterly, to restore the former state of feeling in the north of Ireland. In the summer of 1648, he was translated, by the general assembly, to Ancrum, in Roxburghshire, where he found a people much more in need of his services than at Stranraer. In 1650, he was one of three clergymen deputed, by the church, to accompany an embassy which was sent to treat with Charles II., at the Hague, for his restoration to a limited authority in Scotland. In his memoirs, Mr Livingston gives a minute account of the negotiations with the young king, which throws considerable light on that transaction, but cannot here be entered upon. He seems to be convinced, however, of the insincerity of the king, though his facility of disposition rendered him an unfit person to oppose the conclusion of the treaty. Being of opinion that the lay ambassadors were taking the *curse of Scotland* with them, he refused to embark, and was, at last, brought off by stratagem. In the ensuing transactions, as may be conceived, he took the side of the protestors; but, upon the whole, he mingled less in public business than many divines of inferior note in spiritual gifts. During the protectorate, he lived very quietly in the exercise of his parochial duties; and, on one occasion, though inclined to go once more to Ireland, refused a charge which was offered to him at Dublin, with a salary of £200 a-year. After the restoration, he very soon fell under the displeasure of the government, and, in April, 1663, was banished from his native country, which he never more saw. He took up his residence at Rotterdam, where there was already a little society of clergymen in his own circumstances.

In narrating the events of this part of his life, Mr Livingston mentions some curious traits of his own character and circumstances. "My inclination and disposition," he says, "was generally soft, amorous, averse from debates, rather given to laziness than rashness, and easy to be wrought upon. I cannot say what Luther affirmed of himself concerning covetousness; but, I may say, I have been less troubled with covetousness and cares than many other evils. I rather inclined to solitariness than company. I was much troubled with wandering of mind and idle thoughts. For outward things, I never was rich, and I never was in want, and I do not remember that I ever borrowed money, but once in Ireland, five or six pounds, and got it shortly paid. I choosed rather to want sundry things than to be in debt. I never put any thing to the fore of any maintenance I had; yea, if it had not been for what I got with my wife, and by the death of her brother, and some others of her friends, I could hardly have maintained my family, by any stipend I had in all the three places I was in."

The remainder of his life was spent in a manner more agreeable, perhaps, to his natural disposition, than any preceding part. He had all along had a desire to obtain leisure for study, but was so closely pressed, by his ordinary duties, that he could not obtain it. He now devoted himself entirely to his favourite pursuit of biblical literature, and had prepared a polyglot bible, which obtained the unqualified approbation of the most learned men in Scotland, when he was cut off, on the 9th of August, 1672, in the 70th year of his age. Just before he expired, his wife, foreseeing the approach of dissolution, desired him to take leave of his friends. "I dare not," said he, with an affectionate tenderness; "but it is likely our parting will be but for a short time." Mr Livingston, besides his Bible, (as yet unpublished,) left notes descriptive of all the principal clergymen of his own time, which, with his memoirs, were printed in 1754. Some of his children emigrated from Scotland to the state of New York, where their descendants have, in the course of time, become people of the first distinction and weight in society. The late Dr John H. Livingston, minister of the

Reformed Dutch church in New York, professor of Divinity to that body, and president of Queen's college, New Jersey—one of the first men of his age and country, and to whose memoirs, by Mr Alexander Gunn, we have been indebted for some of the preceding facts—was the great-great grandson of the subject of this memoir.

LOCKHART, (SIR) GEORGE, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, and lord president of the court of session, was the second son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, a judge of the court of session. The period of his birth is unknown, and the earliest circumstance of his life which has been recorded is, that he studied for the bar, to which he was admitted on the 8th of January, 1656, by the commissioners appointed for the administration of justice in Scotland, under the government of Cromwell.¹ The well-known personal interest of his brother, Sir William Lockhart, with the protector, was probably the means of introducing his talents to early notice; and on the 14th May, 1658, he was appointed “sole attorney,” or lord advocate of Scotland. On the restoration of the monarchy, his family influence procured him favour at court; and after taking the oath of allegiance, along with the performance of other somewhat humiliating ceremonies, expressive of regret for his support to the fallen government, he was permitted the exercise of his profession, and received the honour of knighthood in 1663. Sir George distinguished himself as an able barrister, and became a man of power and influence. Notwithstanding favours extended towards him, such as monarchs too often find sufficient to secure unhesitating tools, he used the privileges of his profession frequently against the court; and through the progress of the dark deeds perpetrated by Tweeddale and Lauderdale, his name frequently occurs in the books of Adjournal (the criminal record of Scotland), as using his professional abilities in favour of the covenanters. One of the most prominent features of his life, is the struggle which he headed in 1674, for procuring by indirect means, and partly through the influence of the bar, an appeal from the courts of law to the legislature, unauthorized by the theory of the constitution of Scotland, and directly against the wishes of the court, to which a body of paid judges, removable at pleasure, seemed a more pliable engine, than an assembly of men, partly elected, partly holding by hereditary right. He was the person who in the suit between the earl of Dunfermline, and the earl of Callender and lord Almond, advised the last mentioned to present an appeal to parliament.² The earl being cited before the privy council to answer for this act, applied to Sir George Lockhart, Sir Robert Sinclair, Sir George Cunningham, and Sir George Mackenzie, for information how to act in the matter; and a paper was drawn up for him by these eminent men, declaring “that he desired nothing thereby, but to protest for remedy of law;” in other words, that he did not wish the decree of the court of session to be reduced on the ground of injustice or oppression, but a reversal by the parliament, declaratory or statutory, as to the law on the point. “In all which,” says Sir George Mackenzie, with the bitterness of disappointment, “Sir George Lockhart’s design was to bring in this trial before the parliament, hoping thereby that they would lay aside the president, and leave the chair vacant for him.” Lauderdale immediately proceeded to court, accompanied by the president of the court of session and one of the judges; and on their report of the proceedings, Charles found the matter of sufficient importance to demand personal interference, and wrote a letter to the

¹ Brunton and Haig’s Hist. of Col. of Just., 419.

² Those readers who are not acquainted with the details of this event, may find such circumstances connected with it as are here omitted, in the life of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall.

privy council, in which, expressing his conviction of the necessity of preserving the supreme power of the college of justice, and his "abhorrence" of appeals, he was graciously pleased that no proceeding should be instituted against those who had maintained the political heresy, in case they disavowed it; but that if they did not, they should be debarred the exercise of their professions. The consequence of this letter, was the banishment of Lockhart and Cunningham, and the voluntary exile of fifty advocates, who chose to resent the insult: but the manner in which the act is detailed by Sir George Mackenzie, and the curious views which he casts on the motives and conduct of his great rival, prompt us to extract the passage:—"His majesty having ordained by his letters such as would adhere to that appeal to be debarred from pleading, and Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Cunningham being thereupon called in before the lords, they owned that though formal appeals might be said to be contrary to the 62 act. par. 14 James II., yet a protestation for remeid of law might be allowed; whereupon they were debarred from their employments, till the king should declare his farther pleasure. And albeit it might have been reasonably concluded, that this exclusion should have pleased the younger advocates, whom those seniors overshadowed, interrupting the chief advantage and honour that was to be expected in that society; yet most fearing to offend so eminent men, who they knew would soon return to their stations, and being pushed on by the lords of the party, and the discontented persons to whom they owed their employments, went tumultuarly out of the session house with those who were debarred; and thus, as Sir George Lockhart broke that society at first by his avarice, in the matter of the regulations, he broke them now again by his pride, in the matter of the appeals; and by raising a clamour against the president, and joining in the popular dissatisfaction, he diverted early from himself that great hatred which was so justly conceived against his insolence and his avarice; two crimes which were more eminent in him than his learning."

Although the causes of the enmity entertained by Mackenzie towards Lockhart are not fully explained, the allusions of the former make it quite clear that it arose from professional and political rivalry. The king had written to the burghs, advising them to renew their old acts, against the choosing of representatives. "The king's design in this was," says Sir George, "to exclude such as had been factious in the former parliament, and to engage the burghs to an immediate dependence on the crown." The disaffected advocates endeavoured to inspire the burghs with a wish to oppose the designs of the court; in the mean time, however, it was necessary that the king's letter should be answered, and a draught of such a document was prepared for the committee by Sir George Mackenzie. This letter was sent for the perusal of Lockhart, who altered it "so as of a discreet and dutiful letter, it became, by adding what was humorous, and striking out what was discreet, a most unpolisht and indiscreet paper. And when Sir George Lockhart was askt why he had deformed it so, his answer to James Stewart was, that it was fit to make Sir George Mackenzie unpardonable." Sir George Mackenzie alleges that Lockhart had induced him to join the body in favour of appeals, on the ground that the union of so many members of the bar would form a formidable opposition to Lauderdale; and it is to his enmity against that minister at the period, that, without a better reason, we must date Mackenzie's accession to the cause. But when the king, on the 12th of December, issued a proclamation, declaring, on the word of a prince, that such of the advocates as should not petition for re-admission before the 28th of January following, should never be permitted to return to their profession, Sir George Mackenzie "did so much tender the reputation of his

king, that he, having been bedrid of a broken leg when the rest were debarr'd, shunn'd to have himself debarr'd, or publicly to own the appeal ; though to secure such as had, he declared that he would not return to his employment without them. Which not satisfying Sir George Lockhart, who pressed still that Sir George Mackenzie should be debarr'd, he was content, in a letter under his hand, to oblige himself in those terms ; but this letter not having satisfied, and he being prest, merely to satisfy Sir George Lockhart's private humour, he called for his former letter, and wrote in a postscript these words : ' But if I enter, and put myself in the same condition with the rest, I do declare this letter, and all the obligations therein, to be void and not obligatory.' And having owned the appeal with a very undaunted courage, did from that hour despise that party which had jealous'd him, after so many proofs of his courage and fidelity, to please a little creature, who had never follow'd them, but his own passion, to which he and they were become such slaves, that they had thereby lost the glory and reputation of impartial reformers, which had so much recommended them at first, while they followed *Sir George Mackenzie's* disinterested advices." Mackenzie then adds a circumstance, which will hardly diminish the suspicion of his tortuous conduct in the business, although it may shed a ray of additional light on the causes of his rancour towards Lockhart. This is the letter from which the party concluded Sir George Mackenzie to be guilty of perjury, in having entered before the rest ; dispersing copies of the letter, without the postscript, because they knew the postscript destroyed their malicious pretences. Before the day which the court had named as the last for receiving the submission of the recusant advocates, a document, couched in the form of a petition, but steadily vindicating the right of appeal for remeid of law, was presented to the privy council. This very valuable paper, which has been preserved at full length by Mackenzie, is full of legal knowledge, and clear concise reasoning ; it had, however, to strive, not only against power, but also against precedent ; no clear established law could be found on which to rest the right of appeal, and a course of ingenious special pleading had to be derived from implication ; and the plea that the court of session was a distinct body from the daily session of old, which, being a committee of parliament set apart for the purpose of saving the time and trouble of the main body, would have defeated its end by the admission of appeals. The grand constitutional argument of a check on the venality of judges, could only be hinted at under the cloak of deference and submission to the royal authority ; and the petitioners thought it prudent to terminate their certainly firm and manly statement of their rights, with the concession, that " as the petitioners acknowledge there are eminent lawyers upon the session, of deserved reputation ; so if the lords of session, by an act of sederunt, or otherwise, will plainly and clearly declare that protestations for remeid of law, to his majesty and estates of parliament, were and are in themselves unlawful, and that the parliament cannot thereupon review and rescind their decreets, if they find just cause ; the petitioners will so far defer to their authority, as to be concluded thereby, and satisfy what was prescribed and required by the lords of session as to that point." Mackenzie was induced to sign this petition : he says, " Sir George Lockhart's love of money making him weary of that love to revenge, he persuaded the appealers (for so all the adherers were called) to give in an address to the privy council ; but so bitter and humorous, that Sir George Mackenzie though he had concur'd in furnishing materials and argument, did with some others dissent from it ; till they were again conjur'd, by some of their comrades, not to make a rupture, at a time wherein their fixt adherence to one another was their only security."³ The

³ With the petulant remarks on Lockhart, so plentifully scattered through the above

petition was viewed by the privy council and the king, as a daring and seditious piece of pleading; and Sir John Cunningham proceeding to London to endeavour by his personal influence to alleviate the threatened effects, was quickly followed by Sir George Lockhart and Sir Robert Sinclair; "but upon express promise," says Mackenzie, "that if Sir George Mackenzie and those who had signed the address, should be pursu'd for it, they should return and concur with him in the defence. Notwithstanding whereof," he continues, "they having been pursu'd in a process before the privy council, Sir George Lockhart and Sir Robert Sinclair retir'd, and lurk't near to North Allerton, without acquainting even their wives of their residence, lest thereby they might have been advertis'd. Whereupon Sir George Mackenzie gave in his defence," &c. The defence deserted the constitutional origin of the struggle, and assumed the aspect of a mere vindication of the motives of presenting the petition. Mackenzie at length yielded: as a motive for so doing, he says—but we are aware of no document that confirms the assertion—that he "intercepted at last a letter, wherein they (Lockhart and Sinclair) told their confidants that they had resolved to wait the event of that process; in which, if Sir George Mackenzie was absolved, they would be secure by the preparative; but if he was found guilty, the malice of the pursuers would be blunted before it reacht them." Accordingly, on the plausible ground that "it was no dishonour to submit to their prince, ceding being only dishonourable amongst equals, and never being so, when the contest was rais'd by such as design'd to make them knaves and fools," prevailed on the greater number of his brethren to submit. Sir George Lockhart, left to maintain the struggle almost alone, fully aware that unanimity and number only can give effect to political resistance, presented a tardy submission in December, 1675, and was re-admitted to the privileges of his profession on the 28th of January, 1676.⁴ We have dwelt thus long on this incident, because it is one of the very few constitutional struggles connected with the history of Scotland, and the curious details lately brought to light in the *Memoirs* of Sir George Mackenzie, are not very generally perused.

The next political transaction in which we find Lockhart professionally engaged, is the trial of Mitchell in 1678, for having four years previously attempted the murder of archbishop Sharpe. He was tried on his own confession, and there is no point of history more surely ascertained, or less liable to doubt, than that the confession was obtained on a promise of pardon. "But," as Burnet expressively says, "Sharpe would have his life." For the purpose of facilitating the prosecution, Nisbet, the lord advocate, was superseded by Mackenzie and Primrose, from being clerk register, was appointed justice general. "He fancied," says Burnet, "orders had been given to raze the act that the council had made (the act offering the conditional pardon), so he turned the books, and he found the act still on record. He took a copy of it and sent it to Mitchell's counsel." Thus armed, Lockhart appeared, to meet the confession. Burnet, who says, "he was the most learned lawyer and the best pleader I have ever yet known in any nation," states that "he did plead to the admiration of all, to show that no extrajudicial confession could be allowed in a court. The

quotations, compare the following *published* character of the professional abilities of his great rival, by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Eloquence of the Bar*—it would be difficult to conceive a more perfect picture of a great forensic orator. 'Lockartius corpus alterum juris civilis, alterque Cicero dici poterat. Illi etiam peculiare erat argumenta sua eo ordine disponere, ut tanquam lapides in fornice alter alterum suslineret; quæ ex improvviso, dum oraret, ei suggererentur, prompta solertia indicabat, aptisque locis disponebat. Nihil ab eo abscondit jurisprudentia, et quamprimum casus illi a cliente aperiretur, sua omnia, omniaque adversarii argumenta retexebat. Iracundia, quæ alios oratores turbabat, cum tantum excitare solebat; vocem tamen latratu, vultumque rugis deformabat.'

⁴ Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, 267 to 310.

hardships of a prison, the hopes of life, with other practices, might draw confessions from men, when they were perhaps drunk, or out of their senses. He brought upon this a measure of learning that amazed the audience, out of the lawyers of all civilized nations. And when it was opposed to this, that the council was a court of judicature, he showed that it was not the proper court for crimes of this nature, and that it had not proceeded in this as at a court of judicature. And he brought out likewise a great deal of learning upon those heads. But this was overruled by the court, and the confession was found to be judicial. The next thing pleaded for him was, that it was drawn from him upon the hope and promise of life: and on this Sharpe was examined. The person he had sent to Mitchell gave a full evidence of the promises he had made him; but Sharpe denied them all. He also denied he ever heard any promise of life made him by the council; so did the lords Lauderdale, Rothes, and Halton, to the astonishment of all that were present. Lockhart upon that produced a copy of the act of council, that made express mention of the promise given, and of his having confessed upon that. And the prisoner prayed that the books of council, which lay in a room over that in which the court sat, might be sent for. Lockhart pleaded, that since the court had judged that the council was a judicature, all people had a right to search into their registers; and the prisoner, who was like to suffer by a confession made there, ought to have the benefit of those books. Duke Lauderdale, who was in the court only as a witness, and so had no right to speak, stood up, and said he and those other noble persons were not brought thither to be accused of perjury; and added, that the books of council were the king's secrets, and that no court should have the perusing of them. The court was terrified with this, and the judges were divided in opinion. Primrose and one other was for calling for the books, but three were of opinion that they were not to furnish the prisoner with evidence, but to judge of that which he brought, and here was only a bare copy, not attested upon oath, which ought not to have been read. So this defence being rejected, he was cast and condemned.⁵ Perhaps the annals of crime scarcely produce another so perfect specimen of judicial villany.

The talents and courage of Lockhart were employed by the duke of Argyle at his memorable trial in 1681; three times the privy council denied him the sanction of their warrant—unfortunately often necessary at that period for the safety of the lawyer who should defend a person accused of treason—and it was at last granted, lest Argyle, on the ground that he was deprived of legal assistance, might interrupt the trial by refusing to plead. In the parliament of 1681, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the shire of Lanark, a seat which he held till his death, and in 1685, after the fall of his opponents in the ministry, we find him one of the committee appointed to answer the king's letter to the parliament, and a lord of the articles.⁶ In 1685, on the death of Sir David Falconer of Newton, Lockhart was appointed president of the court of session, and was soon afterwards made a privy councillor, and a commissioner of the exchequer. Having in the year 1679, boldly undertaken the task of representing before the king the grievances against Lauderdale, he was considered one of the chief political opponents of that minister, and seems to have been gradually led to a participation with the proceedings of the duke of York. After having followed the actions of a high minded man through the path of honour, and seen him use his talents and influence in the protection of the weak, and resistance to the powerful, it is painful to arrive at transactions, in which the presence of his accustomed firmness, or integrity, may seem wanting. He is said to have been at first opposed to a repeal of the penal laws

⁵ Burnett, i. 41.

⁶ *Act Parl.* viii. 456, 7.

against papists, but after a journey to London, concerted for the purpose of overcoming his scruples, to have entertained a different view⁷—a view which, it is to be feared, was produced more by the benignant smile of royalty, than by a sudden accession of liberal principles. On the question of the applicability of the disabling laws to the duke of York, he somewhat sophistically maintained that “a commission to represent the king’s person fell not under the notion of an office.”⁸ But, if he chose to assist the court in obtaining its ends by legal means, his former spirit returned on an attempted stretch of arbitrary power, and he objected to the privy council’s sanctioning a relaxation, in favour of the Roman catholics, becoming law, through the mere royal prerogative.⁹

This great man, whose talents and courage would have adorned a better period, fell a victim to the fury of one of those savages which misgovernment produces. He was murdered by John Chiesley of Dalry on the 31st of March, 1689.

The determination to commit the murder on the part of this man, arose from a dispute with his wife, the latter claiming aliment for herself and ten children, and the parties consenting that the claim should be settled by the arbitration of Lockhart and lord Kennay, who gave a decree appointing an annual sum out of Chiesley’s estate to be paid to his wife. Infuriated at not being permitted to deprive his wife and offspring of their daily bread, he formed the resolution of taking vengeance on the president at whatever cost. On communicating his intention to Mr James Stewart, advocate, he was answered that “it was a suggestion of the devil, and the very imagination of it a sin before God;” to which he replied, “Let God and me alone; we have many things to reckon betwixt us, and we will reckon this too.” The victim, it appears, was informed of his intention; but he disdained precautions. The murderer confessed that, when in London, he had walked up and down Pall-mall, with a pistol beneath his coat, lying in wait for the president. The day on which he consummated the deed was Sunday. He charged his pistol, and went to church, where he watched the motions of his victim, and when Lockhart was returning to his own house through the close or lane on the south side of the Lawn Market, now known by the name of “The Old Bank Close,” following close behind him, discharged a shot, which took effect. The president fell, and being carried into his own house, immediately expired, the ball having passed through his body. Chiesley did not attempt to escape, and, on being told that the president was dead, he expressed satisfaction, and said “he was not used to do things by halves.” He was put to the torture, and made a full confession, and having been seen committing the act, and apprehended immediately after, or as it is technically termed, “red hand” he was summarily tried before the provost of Edinburgh, as sheriff within the city. He was sentenced to have his right hand cut off while alive, to be hanged upon a gibbet with the instrument of murder suspended from his neck, and his body to be hung in chains between Leith and Edinburgh.¹⁰

LOCKHART, GEORGE, a celebrated political partisan, and author of *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, Commentaries, &c., &c.*, was the eldest son of the above, by Philadelphia, youngest daughter of Philip, fourth lord Wharton. He was born in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in the year 1673. He appears to have been educated for the Scottish bar, but, having succeeded, on the death of his father, to a very ample fortune, he seems to have turned his attention chiefly to politics, and having obtained a seat in the Scottish parliament, 1703, he distinguished himself by his opposition to all the measures of the

⁷ Fountainhall’s Diary, 167.

⁸ Burnet, i. 408.

⁹ Fountainhall, 192.

¹⁰ Arnot’s Crim. Tr., 168-74.

court, and his ceaseless activity in behalf of the fallen episcopal church, and the exiled royal family. Singularly unlike his father, in discernment of the justice of a cause and liberality of principle, he appears to have resembled him in the stubborn courage with which he pursued any favourite object. To all the principles of the Revolution, he professed a deep aversion, and the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England he considered, especially in regard to the former, as likely to terminate in that misery which a peculiar class of politicians always argue to be the consequence of any change, or some reason which it is difficult to fathom; he was, however, named, by the queen, one of the commissioners upon that famous treaty, and, with the exception of the archbishop of York, was the only tory that was so named. "He had no inclination to the employment," he has himself told us, "and was at first resolved not to have accepted it, but his friends, and those of his party believing he might be serviceable, by giving an account how matters were carried on, prevailed with him to alter his resolution." Before entering upon the duties of his high office, he accordingly took their advice, in what manner he was to conduct himself, and in particular, "whether or not he should protest and enter his dissent against those measures, being resolved to receive instructions from them, as a warrant for his procedure, and to justify his conduct: so, when they all unanimously returned this answer, that if he should protest, he could not well continue longer to meet with the other commissioners; and, if he entered his dissent, it would render him odious to them, and that they would be extremely upon the reserve with him, so as he would be utterly incapable to learn any thing that might be useful afterwards in opposing the design; whereas, if he sat quiet, and concealed his opinion as much as possible, they, expecting to persuade him to leave his old friends and party, would not be so shy, and he might make discoveries of their designs, and thereby do a singular service to his country; therefore they agreed in advising him, neither to protest or dissent, nor do any thing that might discover his opinion and design, unless he could find two or three more that would concur and go along with him, (which was not to be expected,) but to sit silent, making his remarks of every thing that passed, and remain with them as long as he could; and then, at last, before signing the result of the treaty, to find out some pretence of absenting himself." Such were the feelings and intentions which he brought to the accomplishment of a transaction which he was chosen for the purpose of furthering, in the most expeditious and most efficient manner; and he relates with pride that he acted up to his instructions, that he acted as a spy on the proceedings of the others, and, at least, was enabled to interrupt and render more laborious the consummation of a measure which his party was unable to stifle. The archbishop, disdaining to follow a similar course, absented himself from the meetings.

But Lockhart had other and more dangerous duties to perform for his party; he held a commission from the Scottish Jacobites to communicate with the English tories, and, if possible, to ascertain how far the latter might be brought to concur in a scheme, projected in Scotland, for the restoration of the son of the abdicated monarch by force. This commission he executed with similar fidelity, but he found the English less zealous than the Scots, and disinclined to any attempt, at least during the lifetime of the queen. All the transactions which might be interesting to the exiled family, he faithfully reported to the courts of Versailles and St Germain, through the instrumentality of an emissary, called captain Straiton, while he submitted his proceedings to the cognizance of his brother Jacobites, whom he aptly termed his constituents. His account of the proceedings of the commissioners, is distorted by party colouring, beyond the usual allotment of such documents, and one is tempted to ask how a person, who

saw, in every branch of the proceedings, something so irredeemably wicked, could have so far compromised his conscience, as to have permitted himself to be chosen as one of those whose duty it was to assist in and further them.

The scheme of a general rising was designed for the purpose of stifling the projected union ; but the attempt having failed, the Jacobites were compelled to debate the treaty, clause by clause, in open parliament, where, notwithstanding every artifice for exciting public clamour, it was triumphantly carried. Lockhart, through the whole, was uniform in his opposition—adhered to every protest that was taken against it, and, in more than one instance, entered protests against it in his own name. He also, in conjunction with Cochrane of Kilmarnock, gave fifty guineas to Cunningham of Eckatt, for the purpose of forwarding a design of forcibly dispersing the parliament by an army of Cameronians, which he proposed to raise in the western shires, but which, as he alleged, he was prevented from doing by the intrigues of the duke of Hamilton.

The union having been ratified by the parliaments of both kingdoms, and peaceably carried into effect, the next hope of the Jacobites was the French invasion, which Hooke had negotiated with them during the preceding year, and to which they now looked forward with the most ardent expectation. Of all the partizans of James, perhaps none were more zealous, on this occasion, than the subject of this memoir ; but, fortunately for himself, he followed in the train, and acted by the advice of the duke of Hamilton, who, being at the time at his seat in Lancaster, and taken there into custody by a king's messenger, could not meet his Scottish friends at Dumfries, according to agreement, till the defeat of the French fleet rendered any further appearance at that time unnecessary, in consequence of which he himself, as well as his friends, escaped any thing like serious prosecution. Mr Lockhart also having the powerful influence of his uncle, lord Wharton, exerted in his favour, remained unmolested.

The next hope of the Jacobites was in the inclinations of the queen, which, with all her coldness, they naturally expected, and indeed had, if we may believe their own account, and lay much weight on a few accidental circumstances, a well-grounded hope, that they might be extended to her brother and his family ; and that they might more effectually influence her counsels, it was resolved, that no influence or endeavour should be spared in procuring seats in parliament for the heads of the party. Mr Lockhart started for the county of Edinburgh, and had sufficient interest to secure his election, though he was obnoxious both to the court and the presbyterians, to whom he seems to have been always inimical. The first session of the first British parliament, did not afford much scope for that species of ingenuity for which Mr Lockhart has taken so much credit to himself ; and by his efforts, joined to those of Mr Houston, younger of Houston, Lag, younger of Lag, Duff of Drummure, and Cochrane of Kilmarnock, all unwavering supporters of the same political creed, little or nothing was effected. The next session was almost wholly occupied with the affair of Sacheverel, in whose behalf the Jacobites were joined by those supporters of the house of Hanover, who either conceived, or for political purposes alleged, that the church was in danger, while the affairs of Scotland were neglected amidst more exciting discussions. A field was soon, however, to be opened, in which they doubted not shortly to reap a rich harvest.

At the period when a waiting woman in the queen's bed-chamber was sapping the foundation of the Godolphin and Marlborough administration, that ministry requested leave to dismiss Mrs Masham, threatening her with an address from the two houses of parliament ; to which was to be attached an invitation to Prince George, of Hanover. " As such treatment much chagrined the queen against her ministry," says Lockhart, " she was very desirous to secure

herself against such attempts, and did avowedly solícite a great many members of both houses of parliament, that they would not consent to a motion to deprive her of the liberty allow'd to the meanest housekeeper in her dominions, viz., that of choosing her own domestic servants."—"And I accordingly," continues the narrator, in a very remarkable passage bearing on one of the most obscure points in British history, "procured an address, in a very high monarchical style, from the barons and freeholders in the county of Edinburgh; and having brought it up with me when I came to parliament, I was introduced by the duke of Hamilton to present the same; and having read it to her majesty, she seemed very well pleased, gave a gracious return to the address, and then told me, tho' I had almost always opposed her measures, she did not doubt of my affection to her person, and hoped I would not concur in the design against Mrs Masham, or for bringing over the prince of Hanover. At first I was somewhat surprised, but recovering myself, I assured her I should never be accessary to imposing any hardship or affront upon her; and as for the prince of Hanover, her majesty might judge, from the address I had read, that I should not be acceptable to my constituents, if I gave my consent for bringing over any of that family, either now or any time hereafter. At this she smiled, and I withdrew; and then she said to the duke, she believed I was an honest man; and the duke replied, he could assure her I liked her majesty and all her father's bairns." ¹ The gradual steps towards a delicate and dangerous subject, so naturally laid down in this valuable passage—the hope expressed by the queen that the Jacobite partisan was averse to the removal of the favourite, and the introduction of the prince—the surprise of the Jacobite, and his ingenious extension of the request—the queen's smile and remark on his honesty—and, finally, the cautious but bold extension of the insinuations in the kindly rejoinder of the duke, all speak to the authenticity of the scene, and the accurate observation of the narrator. That he may be depended on, there is little doubt. The cautious Hallam considers that the Lockhart Papers sufficiently prove that the author "and his friends were confident of the queen's inclinations in the last years of her life, though not of her resolution." Nor can a vanity to be esteemed the depository of the secrets of princes, be likely to operate on a man whose works are not to be witnessed by his own age. On the whole, the passage may be said almost to prove that the queen's "inclinations" were with her brother; but a "resolution" on either side, she appears to have never attained.

The circumstance last mentioned was soon followed by the renowned downfall of Anne's whig ministry. Strong but ineffectual attempts were made by the whigs at the elections. Lockhart was violently opposed in Edinburghshire, but carried his election by a great majority, as did Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn for the shire of Stirling, and Sir Alexander Areskine, lord Lyon king at arms, for the shire of Fife, both thorough paced Jacobites and violent episcopalians. The last of these gentlemen, along with Mr Carnegie of Boysack, Mr James Murray, second son to the viscount Stormont, afterwards created by the Pretender lord Dunbar, and Sir Alexander Cuming of Cantar, joined Mr Lockhart in a close confederacy, agreeing to mutual support, in cordially prosecuting the great objects for which they had come into parliament, viz., the dissolving of the treaty of union, and the breaking up of the protestant succession. Keeping their agreement as secret as was compatible with its efficacy, and prudently cultivating the friendship of the English tories, they soon became conspicuous, and were regarded by both sides of the house as men of superior consequence, whose feelings and views it was necessary to consult in all measures regarding Scotland. The first fruit of this confederacy was a breach of the union, committed by the

¹ Lockhart Papers, i. 307

house of lords, in reversing a sentence of the magistrates of Edinburgh which shut up the meeting-house of a Mr Greenshields, the first clergyman who introduced the English liturgy into the service of the Scots Episcopal church. The full harvest was the act of toleration, with the oath of abjuration annexed, to be imposed upon all the ministers of the Scottish church; the act restoring lay patronage; and the act for the observing certain holidays, all of which were prepared by Mr Lockhart, and by him and his friends forced upon the ministry, contrary to the expressed opinion of the people, and with the avowed purpose of undermining the presbyterian interest.

At the same time that he was so deeply engaged in forwarding the particular views of himself and his friends, in regard to affairs purely Scottish, Mr Lockhart was also employed upon the more general business, or what may be called the drudgery of the house. He was one, and the only Scotsman, who was upon the commission of the house for examining the national accounts, with the view of criminating the ex-whig ministers; and, as chairman of that commission, gave in a long report, intended to implicate the duke of Marlborough, a person whose conduct was certainly not pure, while it still affords a pleasing contrast to that of his accusers. The report, however, when it came to be examined, discovered only the headstrong party spirit of its authors, and not much against the accused, but the usual political corruption, too characteristic of the period.

The duties of a commissioner upon the national accounts, did not, however, by any means absorb the whole attention of the indefatigable Lockhart, for while he devoted himself to the service of the pretender, he also proposed a bill in parliament to bestow upon curates the bishops' rents, to resume all grants of church property that had been made to the universities, which he declared to be public nuisances, mere nests of rebellion, which could not be soon enough annihilated. The service to be accomplished in favour of the exiled family by these measures, is not very clear, and we are prevented from knowing the effect their proposal would have produced, from his friends declining to adopt them. So high, indeed, was he borne by his zeal, that an order was obtained by his friends from St Germain, recommending to him moderate measures, and dissuading him from attempts to openly force the English ministry upon desperate projects, as they were themselves well enough disposed, and were the best judges of the means whereby their good intentions would be carried into effect. This order he dared not disobey, but he owns it was much against his inclination, and takes the liberty of affirming that it injured the pretender's interest.

On the duke of Hamilton being appointed ambassador to the court of France, he selected the subject of our memoir to wait privately upon him, and to act according to his orders upon an affair of extraordinary moment, which he never explained, but which Lockhart understood to be the pretender's restoration, and he was just leaving Scotland with the hope of being called to accompany the duke upon that pleasing duty, when he heard that a quarrel betwixt Hamilton and lord Mohun had brought both these distinguished noblemen to an untimely end. This circumstance he affirms to have been fatal to the hopes of the pretender, no one having been found capable of conducting so delicate a business till the period when disputes in the cabinet and the death of the queen rendered the case hopeless. But these circumstances did not damp his ardour, or prevent him from impeding the government, which he could not overturn. Accordingly, on the attempt to extend the malt tax to Scotland, in the year 1713, he made a desperate effort, in which he was seconded by the earls of Mar, Eglington, Ilay, &c., for the dissolution of the union, a project which narrowly failed of success, as we have narrated more at large in the life of John, duke of Argyle. The attempt to assimilate the Scottish to the English militia which fol-

lowed, he resisted, and, in his personal friendship, defended the hereditary title of the duke of Argyle to the lieutenancy of the county of Argyle. His friends, who could not see the advantage of such a measure, were displeased, but his design was to bring over the duke to the interests of the Pretender, of which he was always suspicious the ministry were less careful than of their own. He, however, continued to sit and to act with them, under the strongest assurances from Bolingbroke, that every thing he could desire would be done for the Pretender so soon as it was possible to do it with safety, till the prorogation before the death of the queen, when he retired to his residence in the country, and though the same parliament was assembled on the death of the queen, did not attend it, having lost all hope of the Pretender's restoration by other means than arms.

He accordingly began privately to provide horses and arms for himself and his dependants, though from his late conduct he was not trusted by the leaders of the party to the extent that might have been expected. Nothing, indeed, but mere general surmises seem to have reached him till the month of August, 1715, when warrants were already issued out against all who were suspected as favouring the designs of the earl of Mar, and under one of these warrants he was, early in that month, apprehended at his house of Dryden, and committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. In these circumstances he immediately wrote to the duke of Argyle, who, in return for his services in regard to the militia bill, procured his enlargement, after he had been fifteen days a prisoner, on his giving bail for six thousand merks. He was no sooner liberated than he waited upon his rebel associates, who had not been apprehended; but, finding them still disinclined to the communication, he retired to his house at Carnwath, where he secretly and diligently employed his personal influence in the furtherance of the cause, though still unacknowledged by any of the ostensible leaders of the insurrection, and waited till the arrival of the Pretender, or the transit of the Forth by Mar, should give the signal for him and his friends to appear in arms. In the mean time, a letter from the duke of Argyle informed him that his practices were well known to the government, and requiring him forthwith to repair to his house at Dryden. Every thing, arms, horses, &c., were again disposed of in the best manner that could be devised, and he immediately repaired to Dryden, where he negotiated with Kenmure and the southern rebels; his troop of horse, under the command of his brother Philip Lockhart, being sent to join them at Biggar, he himself staying behind for a few days to arrange some minor concerns. To ensure his safety after concluding his transactions with the rebels, he wrote to the lord justice clerk, requesting to know whether he should remain in Edinburgh or go home to Dryden, and was ordered to choose the latter alternative. Mackintosh, however, having that night crossed the Forth, on his march to the south, a party of soldiers was sent out to Dryden, who apprehended Lockhart, and carried him again to the castle; a circumstance which saved both his life and his estate, as well as those of many others who were prepared to set out with him on an expedition that proved desperate—his whole troop being taken at Preston, along with the rest of their companions, and his brother shot as a deserter by order of a court-martial.

Mr Lockhart suffered a long confinement, but escaped, through the steadiness of his friends, that punishment which was likely to have followed his conduct, and which the government, could they have elicited sufficient evidence, would most willingly have inflicted; but he was by no means cured of his affection for the exiled family, and before two years had elapsed, he was employed as an agent to bring up six thousand bolls of oatmeal, to be given to the king of

Sweden as the hire or the reward for his setting the Pretender upon the British throne. Of all the attempts made by the party in its despair, this was certainly the most singular; yet he seems to have embarked in it with that ardour which marked his character, and he contrived to obtain, from the earl of Eglinton, the offer of three thousand guineas towards its accomplishment. It was soon, however, found to be a project which could not be carried into effect. He narrowly escaped being involved in the affair of Glenshiel, and when the Spanish battalion was brought to Edinburgh, he supplied the commander, Don Nicolas, with what money he wanted till he could be supplied with bills from the Spanish ambassador in Holland, telling him, at the same time, that "it was unkind in him to allow himself to be straightened, when he knew the king, for whose cause he suffered, had so many friends in town that would cheerfully assist him."

In 1718, the Pretender commenced a correspondence with Mr Lockhart, which continued with little interruption till 1727, when it fell into the hands of the government, by what means has never been fully explained, though most probably it was in consequence of a dispute Mr Lockhart had got into with the episcopal college, respecting the election of a bishop of the name of Gillon, whose ordination was keenly opposed by a number of the presbyters, who objected to the nomination that had been made of him by the Pretender, as unduly influenced by Lockhart, who, for a number of years, had been the only channel through which they communicated with their exiled prince. Many meetings were held, and much rancour displayed on the subject, by the enraged presbyters, who threatened the consequences of the rebellion, in which most of the parties were implicated, if the consecration was persisted in. The bitterness of the disputants made it impossible for them to be secret: the whole came before the public, and the government being masters of the channel of communication, the earliest packet transmitted to Lockhart was waited for, and sent to London. Orders were immediately sent to seize Strahan, a merchant in Leith, to whom the packet had been directed, and, under a strong guard of dragoons, to send him to London. Before setting out, however, he was well instructed how to conduct himself, supplied with money by Lockhart, and the earls of Kincardine and Dundonald, with the assurance, that if he behaved with firmness, nothing could be brought legally home to him, while his family, in the mean time, should be carefully seen to, and he himself would gain honour by the incident. Warrants were at the same time issued for the apprehension of Mr Lockhart and Mr Corsar, one of his friends. The latter was apprehended at Glamis, but the former, taking the alarm, effected his escape into Durham, where he remained in the house of a friend till the 8th of April, when he sailed for Dort, where he arrived in safety. He immediately wrote to the Pretender, through lord Inverness, stating the circumstances into which he had fallen, and that he was waiting his master's commands before finally resolving how to dispose of himself. In the mean time, he met lord North and Grey at Brussels, who had also been under the necessity of leaving his native country for dabbling in the affairs of the Pretender, and was thus far on his way to the court of that personage, where he hoped to be trusted with the management of his affairs, which, in the hands of colonel Hay and James Murray, (created lords Inverness and Dunbar,) were generally supposed to have fallen into disorder, pressing at the same time that Mr Lockhart should accompany him, and take charge of the affairs of Scotland, while he attended to those of England. Lockhart, however, would not approach the court of the Pretender without his orders, shrewdly suspecting that James was too fond of the lady Inverness, who was lord Dunbar's sister, to part permanently with either of the three. The lord North and Grey proceeded to

his destination, but found, instead of the premiership which he expected, an appointment provided for him in the army of Spain, with which he was obliged to be content. Inverness had been nominally superseded by Sir John Graham, who proposed the most flattering terms to Lockhart; but the former was still first in the Pretender's affection, and, along with Dunbar, held the entire management of his counsels, which were, and had long been, very far from what the latter gentleman wished. By their advice, and in pursuance of his own feelings, the Pretender no sooner heard of the death of George I. than he left Belogna for Lorrain in the greatest haste, intending to put himself at the head of the Highlanders, and, with their assistance, conquer and secure the throne of the three kingdoms; a similar project to that which his son attempted in the year 1745. A messenger was sent to consult Lockhart, who, astonished at the folly of the proposal, assured the Pretender that it would prove the ruin of himself and all his friends, and would deprive him of the power of ever again renewing the attempt. More wise than his son upon a like occasion, he accepted the advice, and returned to Avignon. Lockhart tendered him, afterwards, some long letters, containing very good advices, with which he probably had little hope that he would comply, and learning, in the month of April, 1728, that his friends the duke of Argyle, lord Ilay, and Duncan Forbes, then lord advocate for Scotland, had procured him liberty to return and to live at home unmolested, he embraced the opportunity of doing so, nothing being required of him but his simple promise that he would live in peace. He was, however, required to go by the way of London, and to return thanks personally to George II., who was now in possession of the throne. "This," he says, "did not go well down with me, and was what I would most gladly have avoided; but there was no eviting of it; and as others, whose sincere attachment to the king was never doubted, had often preceded me on such like occasions, I was under the necessity of bowing my knee to Baal, now that I was in the house of Rimmon." Having performed this piece of unwilling submission, he returned to his family in 1728, evidently in despair of furthering the cause in which he had so long exerted himself, and determined to resign all connexion with politics. Of his after history, we have been unable to learn more than that he was slain in a duel some time in the year 1732, having entered the fifty-ninth year of his age.

He was married on the 13th of April, 1697, to Euphemia Montgomery, third daughter of Alexander, ninth earl of Eglinton, by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of William, lord Cochrane, son of the earl of Dundonald. He had seven sons and eight daughters. His eldest son George, possessing somewhat of the prudent foresight of his father, delivered himself up in the year 1746, to Sir John Cope, the day after the battle of Gladsmuir, and was for a considerable time a prisoner at large in England. His grandson George, continued with Charles till after the fatal battle of Culloden, after which he escaped to the continent, and died an exile at Paris some few months before his father, in the year 1761.

As an author, Mr Lockhart is entitled to very considerable praise. His *Memoirs* concerning the Affairs of Scotland, and his commentaries, though neither so clear nor so impartial as could be wished, are yet valuable materials for history, and throw very considerable light both upon the individual characters and transactions of those times. And his register of letters is still more interesting, as giving us not only an account of the proceedings, but the acts themselves, of the Jacobites of the period. His memoirs were surreptitiously published during his lifetime, by a friend to whom he had lent them, and a key to the names (given in the published volume in initials) was afterwards circulated. He left

his papers carefully concealed, with instructions to his heir, to abstain from publishing them till the year 1750; but the connexion of his grandson with the rebellion of 1745 rendering their appearance even then inexpedient, they lay unnoticed until, at the request of count Lockhart, they were edited by Mr Anthony Anfrere in 1817.

We have only to add, that in private life his character seems to have been exceedingly amiable, and he enjoyed, in a high degree, the respect and affection, notwithstanding the contrariety of their political principles, of the best and wisest public man of his age, Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

LOCKHART, (SIR) WILLIAM, of Lee, an eminent statesman under the Protectorate of Cromwell, was the third son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, by Martha, daughter of Douglas of Mordingston. He was born in the year 1621, and received the earlier part of his education in Scotland, whence he proceeded to some one of the usual seminaries in Holland. He did not long remain in that country, but after visiting Scotland for a short period, joined the French army as a volunteer, and so far distinguished himself as to attract the attention of the queen mother, who procured for him a pair of colours.¹ He subsequently accompanied lord William Hamilton to Scotland, and accepted the appointment of lieutenant-colonel in that nobleman's regiment.

In the course of his military duty he was introduced to Charles I., at his surrender to the Scottish army before Newark. He was on this occasion knighted, and was afterwards employed to negotiate for the safety of the marquis of Moreton. Having joined in the enterprise of the duke of Hamilton, called the Engagement, he was taken prisoner in the unfortunate action at Preston, and after remaining a year in custody at Newcastle, regained his liberty at the serious cost (at that period) of one thousand pounds. Having attached himself to the house of Hamilton, he necessarily attracted the jealous notice of the rival nobleman, Argyle, and on several occasions subsequent to the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, suffered, through its influence, a degree of contumely from the king, which roused his haughty spirit to exclaim, that "No king upon earth should use him in that manner." But while he did not conceive that he should suffer the insults of a king with more patience than those of any other man, his private feeling towards the nominal head of the government did not interfere with his duty to his country, and his services to the cause he had adopted as the best. He remained an officer in Charles's army, and his regiment was distinguished for its services at the battle of Worcester. The cause of monarchy being now suppressed in both ends of the island, he remained for two years in retirement; but, weary of keeping in dormancy powers which he was aware might distinguish him in the service of the state, he repaired to London, and was welcomed by the Protector, who never permitted a man of Lockhart's powers to remain unwillingly idle. From which side the advances were made appears not to be known; it was probably from that of Lockhart. This step is the more surprising as he had belonged to that party of the Scottish presbyterians which used to regard monarchy with most respect. On the 18th of May, 1652, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland, and in 1654, the Protector gave him one of his nieces in marriage,² and raised him to the possession of the highest political influence

¹ Harding's Biographical Mirror, iii. 54.

² Harding calls the niece 'Robina Sewster.' Noble thinks the lady whom Lockhart married was probably a daughter of Desborough, because secretary Thurloe writes to Lockhart, "H. H. (the Protector) doe very much rejoice to hear that your lady is in a way of recovery, and so doth general Desborough, and truly no more than yours, &c."—*House of Cromwell*, ii. 256.

in the land. In 1654 and 1656, he represented the shire of Lanark in Cromwell's parliaments. He was also appointed one of the trustees for disposing of the forfeited estates of the royalists, and a member of the Protector's privy council for Scotland.

On the 14th December, 1655, he was appointed ambassador from England to Louis XIV. ; a duty which, at that dangerous period, when the British government was acknowledged abroad only from its strength, was eminently calculated to bring out the peculiar energies of his mind. He did not proceed on his mission until April, 1656 ;³ a circumstance which probably accounts for his having sat for Lanark during that year. The character both of the government and its servant quickly secured respect. "He was," says Clarendon, "received with great solemnity, and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal Mazarine."⁴ His countryman Burnet, who probably knew him better, says, "He was both a wise and gallant man, calm and virtuous, and one that carried the generousities of friendship very far. He was made governor of Dunkirk, and ambassador, at the same time. But he told me that when he was sent afterwards ambassador by king Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in Cromwell's time."⁵ He arrived at Dieppe on the 24th of April, and was received with all the civic honours which the town could bestow.⁶ An alliance with France in opposition to Spain, and indeed anything resembling amity towards the former nation, was considered an anomaly in the British constitution resembling an infraction of the laws of nature, and the measure, although it was boldly undertaken, and successfully executed, has met the reprobation of historians, whose simple statement of its impolicy and folly is embraced in the terms, "An alliance between Great Britain and France." But the union was an act of almost diplomatic necessity on the part of the Protector, from the alliance (as it was termed) of Spain with the exiled Charles ; and with whatever reluctance the French may have at first looked upon the novelty, Mazarine found himself associated with a government whose assistance was useful, and whose enmity might be dangerous.

From the influence of the clergy alone was any opposition to be dreaded. "I have received," says the ambassador, "many civill messages from persons of honour and good interest ; and I fynd also, that my being here is much disliked by others, especiallie by the assembly of the clergy. And," he continues, in the manner of the period, "I shall make it my endeavour to wait upon God for his directione and protectione, and shall verie little trouble myself with their menaces." But Lockhart found that the French were at least lukewarm in assisting the vast designs of Cromwell, and that they were naturally averse to be the mere auxiliaries of their natural enemies, in subjecting those neighbouring provinces which had often called forth the full power of their armies.

Lockhart, accordingly, takes many occasions to express the discontent of his

The following passage from the same source is perhaps more conclusive :—

COLONEL LOCKHART TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

"When I had the honour to take leave of you, I had your permission to give you trouble in any business wherein I was concerned ; therefore being engaged by articles of agreement with general Desbrowe to make a purchase in England for a settlement to my wife and her children, and the daie being elapsed, by which time I was bound either to make a purchase, or to secure so much money by way of mortgage upon land in England, I am bould to beseech you to move his highness, for leave to me for a month to come to London for settling that affair." &c. Edinburgh, December 25th, 1655.—*Thurloe's State Papers*, iv. 342.

³ Thurloe, iv., 647, 728.

⁴ History, vii., 180.

⁵ Burnet's Own Times, i. 76.

⁶ Thurloe, iv., 739.

energetic temper at the interruptions thrown in his way. Alluding to the cardinal's conduct about the dispute which then divided France, he says—"So soon as I have the opportunity of being at court, I shall endeavour to inform myself as fully as shall be possible for me, of what hath passed in this particular; and if I find that the differences betwixt the cardinal and the prince are in any good way of accommodatatione, I shall then persuade myself, that the cardinal (whatever pretences he hath had to the contrary,) intends a peace with Spayne in good earnest, and hath got over the greatest rub that was in his way: for in his discourses on that businesse, I found that the restoration of the prince stuck more with him than either the re-delivery of towns, or the leaving of his allye the Portugal, to the Spanyard's mercy."⁷ And, probably under the irritation of delay, he wrote to secretary Thurloe in June, saying, "I beg leave to discharge my conscience, by letting you know, that I am verie much convinced, that his highnesse affairs here doe infinitelie suffer by mismanagement. They doe requyre the addresse of a hande muche more happie than myne; and therefore shall humbly beg, that you may be pleased to lett his highnesse knowe how much it concerns his interest heare that some other person be employed, whose parts and experience may be more suitable to this trust than myne are."⁸ But Lockhart did not either give up his commission in discontent, or submit to be dallied with. Towards the termination of the year, he says in his despatches, "The audience my last told you I demanded and was promised, hath been defered till this evening, notwithstanding my endeavours to the contrary: and though it lasted from six o'clock at night till ten, yet I cannot say I had much satisfaction in it, for Mons. De Lion was with his eminence all the tyme, and by his presence necessitated my sylence in some particulars, that, if I had had the honour to entertain the cardinal by himself I durst have ventured upon. Howsoever, finding several particulars formerly agreed upon, questioned, and others absolutely denyed, I was guiltie of the rudenesse to tell his eminence that I did not understand such procedure in businesse, and was astonished to meet so unexpected changes."⁹ From remonstrances the ambassador proceeded to threats. It was the determination of the English that Mardyke and Dunkirk should be taken and left in their hands; and in the commencement of the year 1657, "Lockhart," says Clarendon, "made such lively instances with the cardinal, and complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces that his master knew where to find a more punctual friend, that as soon as they had taken Montmedy and St Venant, the army marched into Flanders: and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardyke, which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced would facilitate the other very much; and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Reynolds, with an obligation 'that they would besiege Dunkirk the next year, and make it their first attempt.'"¹⁰

Lockhart's contest for the interests of Britain did not terminate after the capture of Mardyke: he accused the French of purposely leaving the town undefended, that the British might be compelled to raze the fortifications, and gain no advantage from their captures, while they weakened the enemies of France. He urged Turenne to proceed immediately to the siege of Dunkirk, then but ill defended, offering for the service 5000 veterans and 2000 recruits; but he had to wait until June, 1658, ere the design was put in practice. At this celebrated siege Lockhart commanded the British foot, with which he charged and routed those of Spain. "As to the siege of Dunkirk," says lord

⁷ Thurloe, v. 441.

⁸ Thurloe, v. 120.

⁹ Thurloe, v. 574.

¹⁰ History, vii. 212

Fouconberg, "by the little discourse I have had with the duke de Crequy, chevalier Grammont, and others, I find they infinitely esteeme my lord Lockhart for his courage, care, and enduring the fatigue beyond all men they ever saw. These were their own words."¹¹ When the fortifications had yielded to his efforts, and those of his illustrious coadjutor Turenne, he found himself still perplexed by the interruptions of the French: that the possession of so important and long-hoped-for an acquisition should be left to foreigners, was humiliating; and whatever respect they paid to Cromwell's government, these might at least indulge the privilege of preventing their assistance from being so ample as it appeared. Almost unassisted, Lockhart was compelled with his small army immediately to put the place in a posture of defence, and complaining that he was "forced to buy the very pallisades of the Fort-Royall; otherwayes the French, notwithstanding any order the king and cardinall can give, would pull them out; and not only burn them, but pull down the earthen works in taking them out."¹²

After the siege Lockhart was visited by commissary Mandossi, a person who, under pretence of paying some debts which the Spanish army had incurred during the siege, acted as an emissary from the marquis of Caracine, privately to discover the extent to which Lockhart might countenance an immediate treaty as the avenue to a peace; but the conquering general returned polite and haughty answers to the hints laid before him. He was appointed governor of Dunkirk, an office in which he was enabled to distinguish himself for his resolution and consistency; and he was employed as plenipotentiary at the treaty of the Pyrenees. After the accession of Richard Cromwell, and even during the uncertainty of the continuance of a protectoral government in England, Sir William Lockhart so far supported in his own person the influence of the commonwealth, that the interference of the exiled prince was disregarded by both the foreign powers. After the peace, he visited England, and met with Monk, whom he found still apparently intent on the continuation of the protectorate. Being thus lulled into security, he returned to his foreign station, which he hardly reached when he heard rumours of the approaching restoration of monarchy. When Monk first hinted that his exertions would be at the service of the king, and advised him speedily to quit Spain, lest his person might be seized as a hostage for the restoration of Dunkirk, Charles fled to Breda; and Lockhart might at once have obtained pardon for all offences, and the prospect of high promotion under the new order of things, if he would have acceded to a request (made with many flattering promises) to throw open to him the gates of Dunkirk. But the man who had said he would not be insulted even by a king, answered that "he was trusted by the commonwealth, and could not betray it."¹³—"This scruple," says Hume, "though in the present emergence it approaches towards superstition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn;" but the elegant historian made the observation on the presumption that Lockhart "was nowise averse to the king's service."—"Whether this refusal," says Clarendon, "proceeded from the punctuality of his nature (for he was a man of parts and of honour), or from his jealousy for the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, which was the Scottish, but in his own family;) certain it is, that, at the same time that he refused to treat with the king, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal, who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emolu-

¹¹ Thurloe, vii. 151¹² Thurloe, 173.¹³ Burnet, i. 86.

ments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardyke into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda."¹⁴ After the termination of the period of excitement and energy in which he bore so active a part, little of interest remains to be told connected with the events of Lockhart's life. He was of course deprived of the government of Dunkirk, which was bestowed on Sir Edward Harley. Through the intercession of Middleton, he was suffered to return to Britain, and was introduced to Charles; he then retired to Scotland, where he buried himself in retirement, and amused himself with teaching his fellow countrymen the English methods of agriculture; but, driven away by the prevailing anarchy, he preferred a residence with the relations of his wife in Huntingdonshire. In 1665, when a renewed struggle of the commonwealth's men was expected in Scotland, the busy spirits, who had dreamed of, rather than concocted the enterprise, looked to the earl of Cassillis and Lockhart as the individuals who would probably become their leaders; but, neither countenancing the advances which were cautiously made, the project fell for a period. In 1671, he was brought to court by Lauderdale, and he showed no disinclination to be employed, "not so much," says Burnet, "out of ambition to rise, as from a desire to be safe, and to be no longer looked on as an enemy to the court." But Charles seems to have considered him as one of his "natural" enemies, "for when a foreign minister," continues Burnet, "asked the king leave to treat with him in his master's name, the king consented, but with this severe reflection, that he believed he would be true to any body but himself."—"He was sent," continues the same authority, "to the courts of Brandenburg and Lunenburg, either to draw them into the alliance, or, if that could not be done, at least to secure them from all apprehensions. But in this he had no success. And indeed when he saw into what a negotiation he was engaged, he became very uneasy. For though the blackest part of the secret was not trusted to him, as appeared to me by the instructions which I read after his death, yet he saw whither things were going; and that affected him so deeply, that it was believed to have contributed not a little to the languishing he soon fell into, which ended in his death two years after. This event took place on the 20th March, 1675, a year after the death of his father. Noble has told us that his death was attributed to the alternate causes of "a poisoned glove," and disgust at the machinations betwixt Charles and Louis, of which he had been the unconscious instrument. "I have ever looked on him," says Burnet, "as the greatest man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir Robert Murray."

LOGAN, GEORGE, chiefly celebrated as the controversial opponent of Ruddiman, was born in the year 1678, and is supposed to have been the son of George Logan, a descendant of the family of Logan of Logan, in Ayrshire, who married Miss Cunningham, a daughter of the clergyman of Old Cumnock, and sister to Mr Alexander Cunningham, professor of civil law in the university of Edinburgh, towards the latter end of the 16th century.¹⁵ George Logan was educated at the university of Glasgow, of which he entered the Greek class in 1693, and became a master of arts in 1696. Being destined for the church, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Glasgow about the year 1702, and on the 7th of April, 1707, he was ordained a minister by the same presbytery, in pursuance of a popular call to the parish of Lauder, the ministry of which he obtained in preference to two other candidates, Mr Stephen Oliver and Mr George Hall. He remained at Lauder until the 22nd January, 1719,

¹⁴ Clarendon ut sup.

¹⁵ Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, 190.

when, in consequence of another call, which was unanimous on the part of the parishioners, he was appointed to the ministry of Sprouston, in the presbytery of Kelso. A second time inducements were held forth, which prompted him to change his sphere of duty, and on the 22nd January, 1722, he was inducted as minister of Dunbar. Here he married his first wife, the sister of Sir Alexander Home of Eccles in the Merse, a lady who left him a son and daughter, both of whom survived him. His ministry appears to have secured much popularity, for advancement was again held forth to him; and on the 14th December, 1732, he was admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He whose fame and fortune had been so much advanced by the popular voice, now published a treatise "On the Right of Electing Ministers," and it may safely be presumed, that the liberal opinions thus commenced and continued through the rest of his life, were at least fostered by the influence which the exercise of a popular right had produced on his own fortune. It is probable that this tract was published just before his appointment to the charge in Edinburgh, being dated in the same year. When the act for bringing to punishment those connected with the Porteous mob, in 1736, was ordered to be read in all the churches, on the last Sunday of every month during a year, "all the ministers," says Mr Chalmers, rather enigmatically, "did not think with Logan that the will of the legislature ought, on this occasion, to be obeyed. And he was carried, by the activity of his temper, into a contest, in 1737, with the late Dr Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, on the propriety of refusing obedience to an act of parliament, in a point wherein it is not easy to perceive how either conscience or religion could be concerned." On the 8th of May, 1740, Logan was appointed moderator of the general assembly. During the occupation of Edinburgh by the Highlanders, in 1745, Logan, in common with most of the other ministers of Edinburgh, thought it prudent to secure his personal safety by quitting the town. His house, being near the weigh-house, where the Highlanders had a guard to prevent communication between the city and castle, was occupied by them as a guard-house. After their retirement, he inserted in the newspapers an advertisement for the recovery of some articles abstracted by his late guests, a document containing more satire upon the tory party than his political pamphlets. His controversy with Ruddiman originated in the edition of Buchanan's works, edited by that eminent scholar in 1715. He had become a member of a society of critics, whose ostensible purpose was to rescue the memory of Buchanan from the prejudicial opinions of his editor, but whose labours, though they appear to have reached a considerable extent of matter, were never published. In 1746, Logan published "A Treatise on Government: showing that the right of the kings of Scotland to the crown was not strictly and absolutely hereditary;" and, in 1747, he subjoined "A Second Treatise on Government, showing that the right to the crown of Scotland was not hereditary in the sense of Jacobites." The first answer he received was in an anonymous letter, written in a spirit of airy ridicule, and in July, 1747, appeared the graver discussion of the grounds of his opinions by Ruddiman. Logan, in company with many men who have supported liberal and enlightened political sentiments, had the misfortune to be more anxious to establish them on historical precedent, than on their native merits, and the history of Scotland was peculiarly barren in ascertained facts for such a purpose. His principles appear to have been somewhat akin to those of Grotius, which admitted nothing in hereditary right but a continuation to the descendants of the permission given to their ancestor to govern. To show that the crown of Scotland did not descend through the Stewarts in a pure legitimate stream, he discussed the well-known subject of the legitimacy of Robert III., and the question, certainly at one time debateable,

whether the Pretender was or was not the son of James II. The former of these points has now been pretty satisfactorily established by the labours of Innes, Hay, Stewart, and Ruddiman, and the latter is no longer a matter of doubt. But Logan is accused of having gone to other and more frail sources; a fabulous list of kings had been added to the number of the tenants of the Scottish throne, by Boece and the other early chroniclers. Buchanan, if he did not know the list to be fabricated, knew the circumstances of the lives of these persons to rest on so unstable a foundation, that he found himself enabled to twist their characters to his theories. On the events connected with the reigns of these persons, Logan likewise comments; but after having done so, turning to the writings of Innes and Stillingfleet, he remarked—"But I shall be so good as to yield it to Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Innes: but then let our Scottish Jacobites and the young chevalier give over their boasting of hereditary succession by a longer race of kings in Scotland than in any kingdom in the known world."² Ruddiman employed his usual labour in clearing the questions about Robert III. and the birth of the Pretender; but in another point—the wish to prove that Robert the Bruce was a nearer heir to the Scottish crown by feudal usages than John Baliol—he failed. Chalmers, who can see neither talent nor honesty in Logan, and no defect in Ruddiman, observes, that "it required not, indeed, the vigour of Ruddiman to overthrow the weakness of Logan, who laid the foundations of the government which he affected, either on the wild fables of Boece, or on the more despicable fallacies of Buchanan;" but the fables, which were satirically noticed by Logan, were subjects of serious consideration to the grave critic. Ruddiman brings against his opponent the charge, frequently made on such occasions, of "despising dominions, speaking evil of dignities, and throwing out railing accusations against kings, though the archangel Michael durst not bring one against the devil himself, whom our author, I hope, will allow to be worse than the worst of our kings."³ This was, at least, in some degree, complimentary to Logan, and the critic, proceeding, tries to preserve, for the ancestors of Charles II., both their length of line and their virtues, and is anxious to show that, at least, such as cannot be easily saved from the censures of Buchanan and Logan, were not lineal ancestors of the great Charles II. In point of philosophy, Ruddiman's work cannot well be compared with the several pamphlets of Logan, although even the arguments of the latter against divine right, would now be considered too serious and uncalled for, by any power of defence. The different pamphlets will be found accurately enumerated in "Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman." Logan was the more restless and determined of the two, and continued his attacks until 1749, when both had reached a period of life fitted for more peaceful pursuits. Logan died at Edinburgh on the 13th of October, 1755, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

LOGAN, JOHN, a poet and sermon-writer of no mean eminence, was born in the year 1648, at Soutra, in the parish of Fala, in the county of Mid-Lothian, being the son of George Logan, a small farmer at that place, of the dissenting persuasion. He received the elements of learning at the school of Gosford, in East-Lothian, to which parish his father removed during his childhood. Being the younger of two sons, he was early destined to the clerical profession, according to a custom not yet abrogated in families of the humbler rank in Scotland. At the university of Edinburgh, he formed an acquaintance with the unfortunate Michael Bruce, and also with Dr Robertson, afterwards minister of Dalmeny, and known as author of a Life of Mary queen of Scots. In the society of the former individual, he cultivated poetical reading and composition, being fondest,

² First Treatise, 50.

³ Ruddiman's Answer, 27.

as might be supposed from the character of his own efforts, of the writings of Spencer, Collins, Akenside, and Gray, the three last of whom bear so honourable a distinction from the cold and epigrammatic manner of their contemporaries. During one of the recesses of the college, while residing in the country, he became known to Patrick lord Elibank, who, with his usual enthusiasm in favour of genius of every kind, warmly patronized him.

On completing his education, Logan was received as tutor into the house of Mr Sinclair of Ulbster, and thus became the preceptor of the present venerable author of the Code of Agriculture. He did not long retain this situation, in which he was succeeded by his friend Robertson. In 1770, he superintended the publication of the first edition of the poems of Bruce, who had died three years before. The volume professedly contained a few supplementary pieces by other writers, and of these Logan was himself the principal author. The best of his contributions was the Ode to the Cuckoo, which, notwithstanding the obvious fault of a want of connexion between the various parts of various stanzas, is still one of the most popular poems in the language.

In 1773, Logan was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Edinburgh, thus joining the ranks of the established, instead of the dissenting church. He soon became known as an eloquent and affecting preacher, and in the same year was called by the kirk-session and incorporations of South Leith, to be their minister; a situation always considered as one of the most honourable in the church of Scotland, and which had just been vacated by another man of genius, Dr Henry Hunter, whose life has been given in the present work. Here he continued to cultivate literature with devoted ardour, though it was not till 1781, that he thought proper to publish any poetry under his own name. Among the studies of Dr Logan, history was one of those in which he most delighted. In the winter of 1779, he delivered a course of lectures on the Philosophy of History, in St Mary's chapel, Edinburgh, under the countenance and approbation of Drs Robertson, Blair, Ferguson, and other eminent persons connected with the university. So successful was he in these exhibitions, that, on the chair of universal history becoming vacant in 1780, he would unquestionably have obtained it, if he had possessed the incidental qualification of being a member of the Scottish bar. In the succeeding year, he published an analysis of his lectures, so far as they related to ancient history, under the title of "Elements of the Philosophy of History," which was followed by one of the lectures "On the Manners and Government of Asia." His poems, published in 1781, attracted so much attention, that a second edition was called for next year. In this collection, he reprinted several of the pieces which he had formerly given to the world, along with those of Michael Bruce. A painful charge rests against his memory, regarding the real authorship of some of those pieces, and also respecting the use he made of a copious manuscript of Bruce's poetry, intrusted to him after the publication of the first volume. Into this controversy, which is fully stated in Anderson's edition of the British Poets, we deem it unnecessary, in the present state of the literary reputation of both men, to enter; but we can state, as a fact not formerly known to the biographers of Logan, that he asserted his innocence in a very decided manner, after his removal to London, by ordering an Edinburgh agent to take out an interdict against an edition of Bruce's poems, in which several of his own pieces had been appropriated, under the supposition of their belonging to that poet.

Undeterred by the fate of Home, Logan produced a tragedy in 1783. It was entitled "Runnimeide," and aimed at combining the history of Magna Charta with a love-story said to be expressly borrowed from the *Tancrede* of Voltaire. Runnimeide was rehearsed by Mr Harris at Covent Garden theatre,

but prevented from being acted by an order from the chamberlain, who, in the recent feeling of the American war of independence, took alarm at several of the breathings in favour of liberty. Logan then printed it, and had it acted in the Edinburgh theatre; but in neither form did it meet with decided success. This, with other disappointments, preyed upon the spirits of the poet, and he now betook himself to the most vulgar and fatal means of neutralizing grief. It is to be always kept in mind, that his father had died in a state of insanity, the consequence of depressed spirits. Hence it is to be presumed, that the aberrations of the unhappy poet had some palliative in constitutional tendencies. From whatever source they arose, it was soon found necessary that he should resign the charge of the populous parish with which he had been intrusted.¹ An agreement to this purpose was completed between him and the kirk-session, in 1786, and he retired with a certain modicum of the stipend, while Mr Dickson was appointed his assistant and successor.

In the autumn of the preceding year, Logan had proceeded to London, apparently with the design of devoting himself entirely to literature. He was engaged in the management of the *English Review*, and compiled a view of ancient history, which passed under the name of Dr Rutherford. In 1788, he published an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "A review of the principal charges against Mr Hastings;" which, being construed into a breach of the privileges of the house of commons, caused a prosecution of the publisher, Stockdale, who, however, was acquitted. This was the last production he gave to the world. After a lingering indisposition, he died in London, December 28, 1788, about forty years of age.

Dr Logan destined legacies to the amount of £600 to certain of his friends and relations, to be realized out of his books and manuscripts. The latter consisted of sermons, miscellaneous prose pieces, lectures, and a few small lyrical poems. In 1790, the first volume of the sermons was published, under the superintendence of Drs Robertson, Hardy, and Blair. The second volume appeared in the following year; and, before the end of 1793, both volumes had undergone a second impression. None of his other posthumous works have been published.

Except in the latter part of his life, when rendered irritable and sottish by the results of his constitutional temperament, Dr Logan is allowed to have been a man of the most amiable character, full of refined sensibility, and free from all mean vices. Of his poetry, which has been several times reprinted in the mass, it is no small praise to say that it advances before the age in which it was written, having more of the free natural graces which characterize modern verse, than the productions of most of his contemporaries. It is also characterized in many instances by singularly happy expressions, as it is in general by extreme sweetness of versification. His *Ode to the Cuckoo* and his hymns, are the pieces which may be expected to last longest. A selection from the latter, omitting portions of some of those chosen, has been embodied in the volume of paraphrases, sanctioned by the church of Scotland as an addition to the psalms. "The sermons of Logan," says his earliest biographer, Dr Anderson, "though not so exquisitely polished as those of Blair, possess in a higher degree the animated and passionate expression of Massillon and Atterbury. His

¹ An aged parishioner of Dr Logan, mentioned to a friend of the editor of this work, that he was present in church one day, when the conduct of the reverend gentleman was such as to induce an old man to go up, and, in no very respectful language, call upon the minister to descend from the pulpit which he disgraced. Such an anecdote, if read immediately after perusing one of the elegant discourses of Logan, would form a singular illustration of the propinquity which sometimes exists between the pure and impure, the lofty and the degraded, in human character.

composition is everywhere excellent—its leading characteristics being strength, elegance, and simplicity. The formation of his sentences appears the most inartificial; though at the same time, it will be found, strictly correct. But the manner, amidst all its beauties, is, on the first perusal, lost in the enjoyment the reader feels from the sentiment. Devotional and solemn subjects peculiarly accord with his feelings and genius. In exhibiting deep and solemn views of human life, his sentiments are bold and varied, and his imagination teems with the most soothing and elevated figures. * * It appears to have been no part of his plan to seek out for new subjects of preaching, or to exert his ingenuity in exhibiting new views of moral and religious topics. To embellish the most common subjects, which are certainly the most proper and useful, with new ornaments; to persuade by more forcible and captivating illustration; to unite the beauties of elegant diction, and the splendour of fine imagery; in this lay his chief exertions, and here rests his chief praise.”

LOTHIAN, (DR) WILLIAM, F.R.S.E., author of a History of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, was born at Edinburgh in 1740, being the son of Mr George Lothian, a respectable surgeon in that city. Having passed through the various stages of his education with some eclat, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel in 1762, and appointed, in 1764, one of the ministers of the Canongate. As a preacher his method of instruction was simple and perspicuous, his sentiments rational and manly, and his manner unaffected and persuasive. For many years before his death he was afflicted with a very painful disease; yet he not only performed his professional duties with unabated zeal, but found energy and spirit to compose the work above-mentioned, which appeared in 1780. Previously to this publication he had been honoured by the Edinburgh university with the degree of doctor of divinity. He died December 17, 1783, having only completed the forty-third year of his age. Two sermons by him are published in the Scotch Preacher, 4 vols. 12mo, 1776. For a more copious notice of this respectable divine, reference may be made to the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

LOVE, JOHN, a controversial critic of celebrity, was born at Dumbarton in 1695.¹ He was the son of John Love, a bookseller, who, as Chalmers indisputably remarks, “like greater dealers in greater towns, supplied his customers with such books as their taste required.” The son was educated at the grammar school of Dumbarton, and the university of Glasgow. Having finished his studies, he became assistant or usher to his old master Mr David M’Alpine, and in 1720, succeeded him in his humble duty. On the 17th October, 1721, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr Archibald Campbell, a surgeon of Glasgow, who had been one of the baillies of that city. By her he had thirteen children, two of whom, a clergyman and an officer in the navy, were alive when Chalmers wrote his Life of Ruddiman. In 1733, Mr Love entered the field of controversy by publishing “Animadversions on the Latin Grammar lately published by Mr Robert Trotter, schoolmaster of Dumfries,” a production chiefly designed for the purpose of defending Ruddiman, whose grammar had been reflected on by Trotter. “Like Ruddiman,” says Chalmers very aptly, “Love seems to have delighted in marriage, or like him, to have been driven to conjugal connexions, by his scholastic business, which required female superintendence.” Accordingly, in pursuance of the disposition so aptly associated with his name, he married in 1741, for his second wife, Giles, the youngest daughter of the reverend Mr James Elphinston, minister of Dalkeith, who had died in 1710. Love was subjected, it would appear, at one period of his life to a species of religious persecution, on an accusation of brewing on Sunday,

¹ Chalmers's Ruddiman, 135.

preferred before the church judicatories by Mr Sydserf, minister of Dumbarton, "who," says Chalmers, "after a judicial trial, was obliged to make a public apology, for having maliciously accused calumniated innocence." In October, 1735, he was appointed one of the masters of the high school of Edinburgh, and in 1737, with the assistance of Ruddiman and Robert Hunter, he edited a very handsome edition of the Translation of the Psalms of Buchanan, which attracted the notice of the duke of Buccleuch, and obtained for the editor in 1739 the rectorship of the grammar school of Dalkeith; a situation which has for a long period been deemed of considerable importance, and very ably filled, but which would not now be considered an advancement from that which Love previously enjoyed. In the following year he engaged in the controversy about the respective merits of Johnston and Buchanan as translators of the Psalms, known by the name of *Bellum Grammaticale*, and already referred to in our memoir of Arthur Johnston. He was of course the supporter of the work he had edited. "The conquests which Love had made over Trotter and Lauder," says Chalmers, "probably gave him a fondness for controversy." In 1749, he published "A Vindication of Mr George Buchanan," a work levelled at the imputations of Camden on the one part, and the reflections of Ruddiman, his former friend, on the other. It says much for the candour of Love, that Chalmers allows him to have been actuated by "honest zeal." The chief subject of discussion was the alleged penitence of Buchanan on his deathbed, on account of his attacks on the character of queen Mary. In July, 1749, in his old age, Ruddiman published an answer, termed "Animadversions on a late pamphlet, entitled A Vindication of Mr George Buchanan." The venerable grammarian survived his opponent, who died on the 20th September, 1750, at the age of fifty-five. Chalmers admits that "he was certainly an eminent scholar, an excellent teacher, and a good man."

LOW, GEORGE, an ingenious naturalist, was born at Edzel in Forfarshire, in the year 1746. He was educated at the universities of Aberdeen and St Andrews, and afterwards was tutor in the family of Mr Graham at Stromness in Orkney. During his residence at this place, Mr (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks and Dr Solander arrived at the island, on their return from the last voyage of discovery, in which captain Cook lost his life; and Mr Low, having acquired a taste for natural history, was much noticed by these distinguished philosophers, and was requested to accompany them in their excursions through the Orkneys, and also to the Shetland islands, which he accordingly did.

In 1774, he was ordained to the ministerial charge of the parish of Birsay and Staray, on the mainland of Orkney, to which he devoted the remainder of his life, employing his leisure in the study of nature. Considering the disadvantages of his situation, his success was highly creditable. Sir Joseph Banks, with his accustomed zeal for the promotion of science, introduced him to Mr Pennant, by whose advice he engaged to undertake a "Fauna Orcadensis," and a "Flora Orcadensis." Before these works could be given to the world, he died, in 1795. The MSS. of the former work, with his zoological collections, and the manuscript of a translation of Torfæus's History of Orkney, executed by Mr Low, came into the possession of Mr George Paton, the eminent antiquary, at whose decease they were sold to different persons. The "Fauna" was published in 1813, 4to, by W. F. Leach, M.D., F.L.S., and forms a very interesting addition to the natural history of the British Islands. The "Flora" has not been discovered. A tour through Orkney and Shetland, containing hints relative to their ancient, modern, and natural history, was also prepared for the press by this industrious individual, but, owing to his premature death, was never published.

↓ LOWE, JOHN, a poet of considerable celebrity, though the author of only one small lyrical piece which has acquired popularity, was born at Kenmore in the stewartry of Kircudbright, in the year 1750. His father was gardener to Mr Gordon of Kenmore, son of the unfortunate viscount Kenmore; and young Lowe was reared to the business of a country weaver. Having, however, a strong desire of rising above his native lot, he fitted himself by his own exertions for entering an academical career at the university of Edinburgh, where his expenses were chiefly defrayed, it is said, by friends whom he had secured by his agreeable character and evident talents. While pursuing the study of divinity, he was engaged as family tutor by a country gentleman of his native district, Mr M'Ghie of Airds. The residence of this gentleman, as partly implied by its Celtic appellation, was situate on a piece of lofty and picturesque ground, at the confluence of the Dee with the long narrow lake, in which the Ken meets with that river. Lowe, already addicted to versification, rejoiced with a poet's ardour in the beautiful scenery of the Airds, amidst which he constructed an arbour still called "Lowe's Seat." He here composed a considerable number of poems, fragments of which are still recollected in the district; and here also he became attached to one of the beautiful daughters of his employer, who, it is to be supposed, must have materially added to the inspiring powers of the scenery. His happy lyric, entitled "Mary's Dream," but for which, in all probability, he never would have been heard of beyond his native district, was written at the Airds, in reference to the death of a gentleman named Miller, a surgeon at sea, who was attached to the sister of his own mistress, and perished in the manner described in the poem.

It is not certain that Lowe, though he seems to have completed his theological studies, ever became a licentiate of the Scottish church. In 1773, he was induced to proceed to America, in order to become family tutor to a brother of the illustrious Washington. He subsequently set up a boarding academy at Fredericksburg in Virginia, which succeeded for a time, but afterwards failed. Before leaving Scotland, he had interchanged pledges of mutual love with Miss M'Ghie, and it was understood that their marriage should take place as soon as he should be properly settled in life. The lapse of years—distance—hopelessness, perhaps, of ever reaching the necessary degree of fortune, and not impossibly the intervention of seven years of war between the two countries, conspired to annul this engagement; and the parties eventually married different individuals in their respective countries. Lowe is charged by his biographers with glaring infidelity to his promise; but the case is too obscurely related, to enable us to join in the censure which he has thus incurred. The fondest lovers, when divided by time and space from each other, will hardly be able to maintain their flame: as love is often at first the result of exclusive intercourse, so is it apt to expire when the parties cease for a length of time to enjoy that intercourse, or become exposed to a wider range of society. We are far from implying that a breach of youthful vows is justifiable on any principle; but yet when we see a young female bind herself up to a person who has no immediate prospect of being able to make her his wife, and who, perhaps, before that event, has to spend a long time in a distant land, where his very character is exposed to a radical change, we cannot help perceiving that such a woman perils her happiness upon a point in human nature, and a series of contingencies, where the chances are greatly against her, and therefore is not entitled to throw the *whole* blame of her misfortune, should it arrive, upon one who is simply, perhaps, the partner of her early imprudence. Lowe eventually paid his addresses to a Virginian lady, who rejected them, but whose sister had conceived for him a violent affection, and whom he afterwards married, from a

sentiment, as he expresses it, of gratitude. At what time this took place has not been stated by his biographer;¹ but it is impossible, from the account given by that individual, to resist the impression that it was almost half a lifetime after his engagement at the Airds. His wife proved totally unworthy of his affections, and, by driving him for relief to the bottle, caused his death under the most miserable circumstances about the year 1798. This succession of events appears from Mr Gillespie's narrative, to have been rapid: hence it is allowable to conjecture, that at least twenty years must have elapsed between his parting with Miss M'Ghie, and his unhappy union to another. If such was the case, we can hardly see how the most ardent impressions of youth could have been maintained at such a distance, and under the continued depression of circumstances on the part of the gentleman, which is acknowledged by the biographer, and which must have tended so much to make sick the hearts of both parties.

A letter from Virginia from an early friend of the poet, gave the following particulars respecting his death:—"That perceiving his end drawing near, and wishing to die in peace, away from his own wretched walls, he mounted a sorry palfrey, and rode some distance to the house of a friend. So much was he debilitated that scarcely could he alight in the court and walk into the house. Afterwards, however, he revived a little, and enjoyed some hours of that vivacity which was peculiar to him. But this was but the last faint gleams of a setting sun; for on the third day after his arrival at the house of his friend, he breathed his last. He now lies buried near Fredericksburg, under the shade of two palm trees; but not a stone is there on which to write, 'Mary, weep no more for me.'"

The wretched woman to whom he had been united made no inquiries after her husband for more than a month afterwards, when she sent for his horse, which had been previously sold to defray the expenses of the funeral.

Lowe is said to have been a very handsome man, of quick and lively apprehension, and very agreeable as a companion. His reputation as a poet has the strange peculiarity of resting on one small ballad. That, however, has melody, pathos, and imagery, of no common character, and will probably be always reckoned among the happiest small pieces in the English language. Some fragments of his other compositions are given in Crome's Remains; but they do not rise one step above the cold second-rate pastoral epics of the period.

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MACDIARMID, JOHN, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1779. He was the son of the Rev. Mr Macdiarmid, minister of Weem, in Perthshire. After studying at the universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews, and acting for some time as tutor to a gentleman's family, he proceeded, in 1801, to London, for the purpose of prosecuting a literary career. He soon obtained lucrative employment as a writer in periodical works, and became editor of the *St James' Chronicle*, a newspaper in which some of the first scholars and wits of the last seventy years have employed their pens. On the renewal of the war with France, in 1802-3, the attention of Mr Macdiarmid was attracted to the system of national defence which had been adopted, and he forsook his other employ-

¹ The Rev. Mr Gillespie, minister of Kelso, in Crome's Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song.

ments to devote himself to a work of a very elaborate character, which appeared in 1803, in two volumes 8vo, under the title of "An Inquiry into the System of Military Defence of Great Britain." He aimed at exposing the defects of the volunteer system, as well as of all temporary expedients, and asserted the superiority of a regular army. His next work was an "Inquiry into the Nature of Civil and Military Subordination," 1804, 8vo, perhaps the fullest disquisition which the subject has received. Being thus favourably introduced to public notice as a general writer, he began to aim at higher objects, but, it would appear, without properly calculating his own physical capabilities. Mr D'Israeli, who saw him at this time, and who had afterwards the melancholy task of introducing his case into the work called "The Calamities of Authors," describes him as "of a tender frame, emaciated, and study-worn, with hollow eyes, where the mind dimly shone, like a lamp in a tomb. With keen ardour," says the historian of literary disaster, "he opened a new plan of biographical politics. When, by one who wished the author and his style were in better condition, the dangers of excess in study were brought to his recollection, he smiled, and, with something of a mysterious air, talked of unalterable confidence in the powers of his mind—of the indefinite improvement in our faculties; and although his frame was not athletic, he considered himself capable of trying it to the extremity. His whole life, indeed, was one melancholy trial: often the day passed cheerfully without its meal, but never without its page." Under the impulse of this incontrollable enthusiasm, Mr Macdiarmid composed his "Lives of British Statesmen," beginning with Sir Thomas More. For the publication, he was indebted to a friend, who, when the author could not readily procure a publisher, could not see even the dying author's last hopes disappointed. The work has obtained a reputation of no mean order. "Some research and reflection," says Mr D'Israeli, "are combined in this literary and civil history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."—"The style," according to another critic, "is perspicuous and unaffected; authorities are quoted for every statement of consequence, and a variety of curious information is extracted from voluminous records, and brought for the first time into public view. His political speculations were always temperate and liberal. He was indeed in all respects qualified for a work of this description, by great power of research and equal impartiality." The poor author was destined to enjoy, for a short time only, the approbation with which his work was received. His health sustained, in November, 1807, an irreparable blow by a paralytic stroke; and a second attack in February, 1808, proved fatal, April 7.

MACDONALD, ANDREW, a dramatic and miscellaneous writer, was born about the year 1755. His father, George Donald, was by profession a gardener, and resided at the foot of the broad way which connects Leith with Edinburgh, called Leith Walk; the place also of young Macdonald's nativity.

The subject of this memoir received the early part of his education at Leith, and went through the usual initiatory course of classical learning in the grammar school of that town. Having exhibited early indications of superior parts, his parents and friends entertained the most sanguine hopes of his success in the world; and especially anticipated his attaining eminence in literature. With a view to his becoming a minister of the Scottish episcopal communion, in which he was born and educated, they entered him a student in the university of Edinburgh, where he remained till 1775, when he was put into deacon's orders by bishop Forbes of Leith, who became also his chief patron. On this occasion, at the bishop's recommendation he prefixed the syllable Mac to his name, though for what reason is not stated.

Although now invested with the clerical character, there was yet no vacant

living for him ; but through the interest of his patron, the worthy divine just named, he procured the appointment of preceptor in the family of Mr Oliphant of Gask, as a temporary employment and means of support, until a vacancy in the church should present itself. In this situation he remained about a year, when he was chosen pastor of the episcopal congregation at Glasgow, in room of Mr Wood, who had gone to St Petersburg. His appointment took place in the year 1777. His patron, bishop Forbes, having in the mean time died, he was put into priest's orders by bishop Falconer. Although much addicted to literary pursuits, Macdonald made no public appearance as an author for five years after this period, when he made a debut in the character of a poet, by publishing a poem, or rather part of a poem, entitled " Velina, a Poetical Fragment." Neither this work, nor a novel which he subsequently published under the title of the " Independent," met with any remarkable degree of success. He therefore resolved to try his talents in dramatic composition ; and his first effort was the tragedy of *Vimonda*, which was brought out at the Edinburgh theatre royal, for the benefit of Mr Wood, with a prologue by Henry Mackenzie, and was received with marked applause by the public, though, like all the other works of its unfortunate author, it is now scarcely known to exist.

In the mean time, Macdonald, who still resided at Glasgow, was making but little progress in worldly prosperity. His fortunes, notwithstanding the success of his play, which does not seem to have yet yielded him any considerable pecuniary remuneration, were rather retrograding than advancing. The episcopal church of Scotland was at this period in a very depressed state. The old members were fast dying out, and there were none to replace them. The result was that Macdonald's congregation was speedily reduced to a number so trifling, that he could no longer live by his charge. Thus situated, he resolved on resigning it ; and as no better prospects presented themselves elsewhere in the Scottish episcopal church, he denuded himself altogether of his ecclesiastical functions, and finally threw aside even the outward sign of his calling, the clerical dress, and became at all points entirely secularized. On throwing up his ministry, he came to Edinburgh, with, it would seem, pretty confident hopes of being able to make a living by his pen ; an idea in which he was encouraged by the success of his tragedy. He had, however, before leaving Glasgow, taken a step which his friends thought fit to consider as at once imprudent and degrading. This was his marrying the maid servant of the house in which he had lodged. His reception, therefore, on his return to Edinburgh, from these friends and those of his acquaintances who participated in their feelings on the subject of his marriage, had much in it to annoy and distress him, although no charge could be brought against the humble partner of his fortune, but the meanness of her condition. Whatever question, however, might have been made of the prudence or imprudence of his matrimonial connexion, there could be none regarding the step which he next took. This was his renting an expensive house, and furnishing it at a cost which he had no immediate means of defraying, although with all that sanguine hope which is but too frequently found associated with literary dispositions, he fully expected to be enabled to do so by the exertion of his talents. The result was such as might have been looked for. His literary prospects, as far as regarded Edinburgh, ended in total disappointment. His creditors became pressing, and the neglect of his friends, proceeding from the circumstance already alluded to, and which in some cases amounted to direct insult, continued as marked as when he first returned amongst them, and added greatly to the distress of mind with which the unfortunate poet was now overwhelmed.

Under the pressure of these accumulated evils, he determined on quitting Edinburgh, and on seeking in London that employment for his literary talents which he could not find in his native capital. Having come to this resolution, he left his mother, for whom he always entertained the most tender regard, in possession of his house and furniture, and proceeded, accompanied by his wife, to the metropolis. Here his reception was such as to compensate in some measure for the treatment which he had experienced at home. The fame of his tragedy had gone before him, and soon after his arrival procured him many sincere and cordial, though it does not appear very powerful, friends. *Vimonda* was brought out with much splendour by Colman, in the summer of 1787, a short time after its author had arrived in London, and was performed to crowded houses. In the following summer, it was again produced, and with similar success. This good fortune, operating on a temperament naturally sanguine, lifted poor Macdonald's hopes beyond all reasonable bounds, and filled his mind with the brightest anticipations of fame and independence. In this spirit he wrote several letters to Mr M. Stewart, music-seller in Edinburgh, the principal, if not indeed the only friend he had left behind him, full of the most splendid ideas regarding his future fortunes. Having left Edinburgh in embarrassed circumstances, so that neither his house rent nor his furniture had been paid, he promises speedy remittances to defray all his debts, and amongst the rest that which he had incurred to his correspondent, who seems to have managed all his affairs for him after he left the Scottish capital, and to have generously made, from time to time, considerable advances of money on his account.

"Thank Heaven," says the ill-fated poet in one of these letters to Stewart, in which he announces the good fortune which he now conceived was to be his for the remainder of his life, "thank Heaven, my greatest difficulties are now over; and the approaching opening of the summer theatre will soon render me independent and perfectly at ease. In three weeks you will see by the public prints, I shall be flourishing at the Haymarket in splendour superior to last season. I am fixed for the summer in a sweet retirement at Brompton, where, having a large bed, and lying alone, I can accommodate you tolerably, and give you a share of a poet's supper, sallads and delicious fruits from my own garden."

All this felicity, and all these gay visions of the future, were, however, speedily and sadly dissipated. In a few short months thereafter Macdonald sunk into an untimely grave, disappointed in his hopes, and reduced to utter destitution in his circumstances. That he did thus die is certain, but neither the immediate cause, nor the progress of the sudden blight which thus came over his fortunes before his death, is very distinctly traced in any of the memoirs which have been consulted in the composition of this article, unless the following remark, contained in an advertisement prefixed to a volume of posthumous sermons of Macdonald, printed in 1790, can be considered as an explanation:—"Having no powerful friends to patronize his abilities, and suffering under the infirmities of a weak constitution, he fell a victim, at the age of thirty-three, to sickness, disappointment and misfortune." Macdonald died in the year 1788, in the thirty-third year of his age, leaving behind him his wife and one child, wholly unprovided for.

Macdonald made several attempts in dramatic composition subsequent to the appearance of *Vimonda*, but none of them were at all equal in merit to that performance, a circumstance which affords, probably, a more satisfactory elucidation of the cause of those disappointments which gathered round and hurried him to his grave, and embittered his dying moments, than those enumerated in the extract employed above. For some time previous to his death, under the fictitious

signature of Matthew Bramble, he amused the town almost daily with little humorous and burlesque poems, after the manner of Peter Pindar's (Dr Walcot), and these were not unfrequently equal in point and satirical allusion to some of the most felicitous effusions of his celebrated prototype.

As a preacher, he was distinguished for neat, classical, and elegant composition; qualities which procured a favourable reception for the volume of posthumous sermons published in 1790. A tragedy, which he left in a finished state at his death, was printed and included in a volume of his poetical works, published in 1791.

On the whole, Macdonald's literary talents seem to have been of that unfortunate description which attract notice, without yielding profit, which produce a show of blossom, but no fruit, and which, when trusted to by their sanguine possessor as a means of insuring a subsistence, are certain to be found wholly inadequate to that end, and equally certain to leave their deceived and disappointed victim to neglect and misery.

It may be proper, before concluding this brief sketch of Macdonald, to advert to the account given of him by D'Israeli, in his "Calamities of Authors." That account is an exceedingly pathetic one, and is written with all the feeling and eloquence for which its highly distinguished writer is so remarkable; but unfortunately it is inconsistent in many parts with fact. What Mr D'Israeli mentions regarding him from his own knowledge and experience, we do not question; but in nearly all the particulars which were not so acquired, he seems to have been egregiously misinformed. In that information, however, which is of the description that there is no reason for doubting, the following affecting passage occurs:—"It was one evening I saw a tall, famished, melancholy man, enter a bookseller's shop, his hat flapped over his eyes, and his whole frame evidently feeble from exhaustion and utter misery. The bookseller inquired how he proceeded with his tragedy? 'Do not talk to me about my tragedy! Do not talk to me about my tragedy! I have indeed more tragedy than I can bear at home,' was his reply, and his voice faltered as he spoke. This man was Matthew Bramble—Macdonald, the author of the tragedy of Vimonda, at that moment the writer of comic poetry." D'Israeli then goes on, giving the result of his inquiries regarding him, and at this point error begins. He represents him as having seven children. He had, as already noticed, only one. He says he was told, "that he walked from Scotland with no other fortune than the novel of the Independent in one pocket, and the tragedy of Vimonda in the other." The novel alluded to was published four years before he went to London; and Vimonda had been brought out at Edinburgh a considerable time before he left that city. D'Israeli speaks of the literary success which the "romantic poet" had anticipated while yet "among his native rocks." The reader need scarcely be reminded that Macdonald was born in the immediate vicinity of the Scottish capital, and that the whole of his life, previously to his leaving Scotland, was spent in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and great part of it in what has always been considered the profession of a gentleman.

✓MACFARLANE, ROBERT, a political and miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1734, and educated at the university of Edinburgh. At an early period of life he proceeded to London, in search of a livelihood, and for many years kept an academy of considerable reputation at Walthamstow. He engaged warmly in the political disputes which took place during the Bute administration; and, in 1770, concentrated his sentiments respecting them in a "History of the Reign of George III.," 8vo. This work, without possessing any large share of intrinsic merit, had a curious history. The author quarrelled with the publisher, (Mr Evans,) who, in 1782, issued a second, and, in 1794, a third

volume, both written by a different person; Mr Macfarlane, then became reconciled to Mr Evans, and added a fourth volume. Mr Macfarlane at one time edited the *Morning Chronicle*. He was also engaged, it is said, in the preparation of the *Poems of Ossian*, some of which he afterwards translated into Latin verse. He had an essay upon the authenticity of those celebrated productions in the press, when he was crushed to death in one of the mobs which distinguished the election contest for Westminster, between Sir Francis Burdett and Mr Mainwaring, August 8, 1804. In 1797, Mr Macfarlane published "An Address to the People of Great Britain, on the present Fortune and future Prospect of Public Affairs," by which it appears that he had now become more attached to the government than he had formerly been. In 1801, he published an English translation of Buchanan's celebrated tract, "*De Jure Regni*," prefaced with two disputations, in which there is much curious antiquarian and historical matter.

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN, one of the best of the modern Highland poets, was born in Druimlaighart, in the district of Glenorchy, Argyshire, on the 20th March, 1724. He was the child of poor parents, and never received the slightest tincture of school learning. He was engaged in the civil war of 1745, but on the loyal side. Local and family ties made him a member of the large force which Argyshire sent forth on that occasion to support the government, and he fought at the battle of Falkirk under the command of colonel Campbell of Carahin. It is not to be inferred on this account that he had any antipathy to the cause in which so many of his countrymen were engaged. He was involved in the disgraceful retreat of the king's troops, in which he lost his sword, circumstances which gave him no small degree of mortification, as he has himself shown by the clever song which he wrote upon the occasion. At what period of his life he commenced the composition of poetry, is not known. His only models in the art must have been those legendary verses of various kinds and ages, which the Highlanders used to recite by the winter fire-side, and hand down from one generation to another, by oral communication.¹ Of the grammatical principles of language, he must have been completely ignorant; his knowledge would be confined in a great measure to the objects of his own Highland vale, and to the Scriptural lore which he would hear occasionally expounded in the parish church. He possessed, however, the genuine talent of the poet—not only that natural eloquence which supplies imagery and suggests incident and allusion, but that felicitous power of expression, which from its being alike found in the untutored Burns and the refined Horace, ought to be considered as much a native gift as any other. This poor Highlander—the reader cannot conceive any man poorer in the goods of fortune—is said to exhibit in his poetry a purity and aptitude of diction, and a harmony of versification, such as are not surpassed in the poetry of any age or country. He may not only, indeed, be introduced here as a Scotsman who has earned a respectable fame, but he might be instanced, in works more expressly devoted to the consideration of the intellectual powers of men, as a singular specimen of original and brilliant talent, altogether unfavoured by direct instruction, and going contentedly side by side for a long life with a character of the most simple and unworldly kind.

Being an excellent marksman, Duncan—or, as he was generally styled by his countrymen, Donacha Ban, (fair-haired Duncan)—was appointed forester to the earl of Breadalbane in *Coire-Cheathaich* and *Bein Dourain*, and thereafter to the duke of Argyre, in *Buachill-Gie*. In 1768, a volume of his poems was

¹ There was not a printed book in the Gaelic language which contained any sort of poetry except the Psalms, until Alexander Macdonald published his *Gaelic Songs* in 1751.

published at Edinburgh, under the descriptive title of "Orain Ghaidhealach, le Donacha Mac-an-t-soir;"² it was reprinted in 1790, and again in 1804,³ and has long been out of print. One of the poems in this volume was "Oràn na Briogais," or, as it may be freely rendered, "The Anathema of the Breeks," being a pretty open expression of the most disloyal sentiment on the part of the author, respecting the abolition of the Highland, and the substitution of the Lowland dress, which formed one of the measures of the government for breaking the Jacobite spirit, after the rebellion of 1745. It is well known that the Highlanders in general resented this measure very bitterly, and none more so than such as, like Macintyre, had been loyal to the king during the late broils. They deemed the breeches at once a literal and emblematic restraint—a thing unsuited to their habits as well as tastes—and, as is plainly intimated by Donacha Ban, a sufficient cause of offence to cause a *universal* rising in favour of prince Charles, should he ever again appear in the country. Of the spirit of this poem we can give no fair specimen—though the first stanza has been cleverly rendered in the following terms:—

My curse upon the grey breeks,
That bind our supple limbs so light!
We're fetter-bound in slavery;
And right is now o'ercome by might.
Had we been faithful to our king,
We ne'er should have to dree such thing,
But light's a bird upon the wing
Might be each free-born mountain wight.

When by the exertions of the marquis of Graham, the act for abolishing the Highland dress was repealed (1782), Macintyre celebrated the event in a pæan of clamorous joy, such as would have done honour to a repelled invasion or a liberated country. These poems, with an English translation, are to be found in the *Cambrian and Caledonian Magazine* for October, 1833.

In 1793, the poet, though advanced to a considerable age, became a private in a fencible regiment then raised by the earl of Breadalbane, in which situation he continued till the corps was disbanded in 1799. It is probably to a period antecedent to either of these dates, that we are to ascribe an anecdote of Macintyre, which was related to the editor of this dictionary by the late Mr Alexander Campbell, editor of *Albyn's Anthology*. The earl of Breadalbane, being anxious to provide permanently for the latter life of his ingenious dependent, consulted the poet himself, as to the way in which he thought that object might be best accomplished. Macintyre, whose whole life had been passed in the humblest obscurity, undisturbed by so much as a wish for any thing better, took some time to consider the matter, and to make inquiries, and then came to his lordship with a request that he would exert his influence to procure a place for him in the city-guard of Edinburgh, a military police whom Sir Walter Scott has since rendered classical by his pen; but who were then the alternate scoff and terror of their fellow townsmen at *sixpence a day*! Into this antiquated corps—for such it was, both in its general character, and in respect of the age of most of its members—Macintyre was accordingly transplanted;⁴ thus exchanging the Highland solitude, whence the inspiration and enjoyment of his whole life had been derived, for the duties of a peace-officer in one of the most crowded streets in the world, where every object must have been to him artificial

² "Gaelic Songs by Duncan Macintyre."

³ With some additional poems composed during these intervals.

⁴ He composed a poem in Edinburgh, in which he shows the poetical talent of nice observation, describing every remarkable or novel object, but without any expression of surprise.

and strange. It is an affecting illustration, however, of the pleasure which unambitious minds may derive from humble sources, that the poet wrote upon this occasion a self-gratulatory ode, in which he expresses quite as bounding a transport at his accession to a salary of sixpence a day, as Napoleon could have done at the addition of a kingdom to his dominions. We have thought this poem so extraordinary a curiosity in its way, as to make a translation of it, with which we have been furnished by an obliging friend, the example to be presented in this place of the style of Macintyre, so far as the unavoidable formality and tameness of a literal English version can exemplify the exquisite graces of the Gaelic bard.

TRANSLATION OF VERSES TO HIS MUSKET.

BY DUNCAN MACINTYRE.

Many a turn of fortune may happen to a man,
He may fall in love with one he may not get—
I devoted twenty years to the first I fancied,
But she forsook me and I was left alone.

I came to Edinburgh to seek a sweetheart:
Said captain Campbell in the town guard,
That he knew a widow in a secret place,
And would endeavour to put her in my way;

He did, as he was wont, fulfill his promise;
He gave her to me by the hand, and her portion with her.
Whoever may ask her name or surname,
They call her Janet,⁶ and George was her grandsire.

She is quiet and affable, without gloom or vexing look,
And as high in rank as any lady in the land;
She is the means of my support since she joined me—
Great is the cause of grief to him who has not got her.

I have forsaken Nic-Coshum,⁷ tho' she still lives,
And allowed the crested stags to wander where they please;
I have chosen a young wife, which I do not repent;
I am not without wealth since I espoused the fair one.

I pass my word that she is most excellent,
And that I never discovered any hidden fault in her;
She is stately, fine, straight, and sound,
Without defect or blemish, twist or bend.

When needy folks are pinched for money,
George's daughter will not let my pocket be empty;
She keeps me in drink in the alehouses,
And pays every stoup that I call for.

She does every turn as I bid her,
She tells me no lie nor false story;
She keeps my family as well as I could wish,
Though I do no labour nor dirty work.

I worked laboriously though I amassed no wealth,
I vowed that I would disclaim to be a mendicant;
I have ceased to toil since I have remarked
That the idle man endures longest.

It is my loving wife who will not deceive me;
She is able always to earn my bread,
I shall have no lack of clothes or linen,
And worldly cares now give me no concern.

⁶ A byeword for a regimental firelock, but never applied to any other gun.

⁷ A favourite fowling piece to which he composed another song.

How long he remained in the situation alluded to has not been ascertained. The latter years of his life were spent in Edinburgh, and are said to have been cheered by the bounty of the earl of Breadalbane. He died in that city, October, 1812, in the 89th year of his age.

"In his young days," says the author of *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, "Macintyre was remarkably handsome, and throughout his whole life, he possessed a very easy and agreeable disposition. Although, when provoked, his enemies generally felt the effects of his pride and resentment, yet to his benefactors he was equally grateful. He was very fond of company and a cheerful glass, and was not only very agreeable over his bottle, but also very circumspect. Although Macintyre discovered an early inclination to poetry, he did not produce any thing till the memorable battle of Falkirk, a description of which forms the first song in the valuable collection published by him, wherein it is said to have been his first regular attempt at composition. The collection contains lyric, comic, epic, and religious compositions, of such merit as renders it difficult to say in what department of poetry this writer most excelled. * * His poetical talents justly entitled him to rank among the first of Celtic bards, for all good judges of Celtic poetry agree that nothing like the purity of his Gaelic, and the style of his poetry, has appeared in the Highlands.⁶ Of *Donacha Ban* it might justly be said,

‘Nan leabhadh ens’ òg gach òran a’s sgéul,
Cha chuireadh neach beò a ghlas-ghuibh air a’ bhéul!’”

MACKENZIE, GEORGE, first earl of Cromarty, a distinguished political and literary character, was born in the year 1630, being the eldest son of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, by Margaret, daughter of Sir George Erskine of Innerteil, one of the senators of the college of justice. He succeeded his father in 1654, and acted a conspicuous part in the irregular warfare carried on at that period by general Middleton, against the forces of Cromwell. After the Restoration, when Middleton received an earldom, and was appointed to the direction of Scottish affairs, Sir George Mackenzie became his principal confidant, and had a prominent share in the transactions connected with the celebrated *billeting act*, which ended in the common disgrace of the earl and Sir George. The latter, consequently, remained unemployed throughout the whole administration of the duke of Lauderdale. He afterwards obtained that promotion to which his extraordinary talents entitled him. In 1678, he was appointed justice general for Scotland, and, in 1681, a lord of session, and lord register. In 1685, James II. created him viscount of Tarbat, by which name he is best known. Though an active and unscrupulous agent of the two last Stuarts, he

⁶ *Note by a correspondent.*—All this must be taken in a very qualified sense. There is nothing approaching to sublimity in the whole range of Macintyre's compositions. His poem in praise of Bendourain is in somewhat of a heroic strain; but it scarcely deserves the name of Epic. Alexander Macdonald was far superior to him in what is usually understood by the term genius; but from his classical education he was less scrupulous about the purity of his style, and his works abound in classical allusions. It is to the purity of his language, and the harmony of his numbers, that Macintyre owes his fame in a great measure. In these qualities he is almost equalled if not rivalled by Mary Macleod, an untutored poetess, but her compositions are not so numerous, and she had not the varied talent of Macintyre. As already said, his poetry is chiefly of a descriptive character, and Dr Johnson's criticism on Thomson's *Seasons* may be applied to him, with this qualification, that his comprehension of the vast was not equal to his attention to the minute. His love songs are remarkable for delicacy of sentiment—and his descriptions of the chase are very animated. Here he was quite at home. Some of his pieces are valuable as descriptive of country manners, now almost extinct. He may be called the Pope of the Highlands, as Macdonald was the Byron, and William Ross the Burns. Macdonald had more originality of genius than any of the Highland poets; but it was irregular and not under proper restraint—Ross, for tenderness and sensibility, was what Burns may be supposed to have been if he had been born and bred in the Highlands. Macintyre was more agreeable.

had no objection to continue in employment under the system of things established at the Revolution. But king William, to whom he lost no time in paying his respects, did not think proper to employ him till 1692, when his lordship was restored to his office of lord register.

Here the evil habits he had contracted under the late government appear to have still clung to him. The spirit which induced Charles II. to say, that, though Lauderdale was complained of by the *people*, he did not seem to have done any thing contrary to the interests of the *sovereign*, was what animated this veteran instrument of arbitrary authority. Having been accused of falsifying the minutes of parliament for private objects, he does not appear to have paid the least regard to the truth or falsity of the charge: in his defence, addressed to Mr Carstairs, he dwells only on the malice which animated his accusers, and on the constancy of his own attachment to the king. He found it necessary, however, to retire upon a pension of £400 a-year. In a subsequent letter, he is found petitioning for a remission, and in such terms as gives a curious idea of the state of moral feeling among politicians in that age:—"I wish," says he, "to have a very general remission sent me, because I see faults fish't for in others upon as great grounds. If it comes, let it contain *treason, perduellion, and a general of all crimes*; though, on all that's sacred, I know not myself guilty, nor do I fear any thing on this side Irish witnesses or evidence." At the accession of queen Anne, this able statesman was made secretary of state for Scotland; an office which he resigned in 1704, for that of justice general. In 1703, he was elevated to the dignity of earl of Cromarty. Having resigned the justice generalship in 1710, he retired some years after, to his seat of New Tarbat, in Ross-shire, intending, without any apparent regard to his advanced age, to live there in an economical manner for six years, in order that he might be subsequently enabled to reside in London. The design was almost at the very outset interrupted by death; his lordship expiring, August 17, 1714. He has an elegant obelisk erected to his memory in the neighbourhood of Dingwall.

The earl of Cromarty, notwithstanding the faults already alluded to, is acknowledged to have been a good-natured man, "possessed of a great measure of polite learning, and good parts, and master of an extraordinary gift of pleasing and diverting conversation, which rendered him one of the most entertaining companions in the world. He was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society, and reckoned among the ablest members of that learned body; in the Philosophical Transactions, many papers of his lordship may be seen. His other publications, arranged in chronological order are, 1. A Vindication of king Robert III. from the imputation of Bastardy, Edin. 1695, 4to.—2. The mistaken Advantage of Raising of Money, Edin. 1695, 4to.—3. Letter to the Earl of Wemyss, concerning the Union with England, 1706, 4to.—4. Friendly Response to a Letter concerning Sir George Mackenzie's and Sir John Nisbet's Observations and Response on the matter of the Union, 1706, 4to.—5. Synopsis Apocalyptica, or, a Short and Plain Explication of Daniel's Prophecy, and of St John's Revelation in concert with it, 1707, 4to.—6. Historical Account of the Conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie and of Robert Logan of Restalrig, against king James VI., 1713, 8vo.—7. A Vindication of the same from the Mistakes of Mr John Anderson, Preacher of Dumbarton, in his Defence of Presbytery, 1714, 8vo.

MACKENZIE, (SIR) GEORGE, a celebrated lawyer and state officer, and perhaps the first Scotsman who wrote the English language in a style approaching to purity, was born at Dundee, in 1636. His father was Simon Mackenzie of Lochslin, brother of the earl of Seaforth, and his mother Elizabeth Bruce, daughter of Dr Peter Bruce, principal of St Leonard's college, St Andrews. His progress at school was so rapid, that in his tenth year he was master of

all the classical authors usually taught in schools. He afterwards studied Greek and philosophy in the universities of St Andrews and Aberdeen, and civil law in that of Bourges in France; and, in January, 1659, before the termination of his twenty-third year, entered as an advocate at the Scottish bar.

In 1660, he published his *Aretina*, or *Serious Romance*, in which, according to his kind biographer, Ruddiman, he gives "a very bright specimen of his gay and exuberant genius." His talents must have been early observed and appreciated, for in 1661, his third year at the bar, he was selected as one of the counsel of the marquis of Argyle, then tried by a commission of parliament for high treason. On this occasion, he acted with so much firmness, and even boldness, as at once established his character. As the counsel for Argyle were appointed by parliament, they presented a petition under form of protest, that in the defence of their client, they might not be made responsible for every expression they might utter, but that a latitude and freedom of expression, suitable to the extent and difficulty of the charges they were called upon to canvass, might be allowed them. This being peremptorily refused, Sir George and his associates took such steps, in consequence, as subjected them to the imminent risk of a charge of treason: "it is impossible to plead for a traitor," said the young lawyer, "without speaking treason!" an antithesis certainly more bold than true, but calculated to make a considerable impression upon the multitude. The counsel only escaped from the consequences of their rashness by the special mercy of the court.

The purely literary labours of this eminent person, appear to have been chiefly executed during his earlier years. His "*Religio Stoici*, or a short Discourse upon several divine and moral subjects," appeared in 1663. Two years afterwards, he published his *Moral Essay upon Solitude*, preferring it to public employment, with all its appendages, such as fame, command, riches, pleasures, conversation, &c. This production was answered by the celebrated Evelyn, in a Panegyric on Active Life. "It seems singular," says the Edinburgh Review, "that Mackenzie, plunged in the harshest labours of ambition, should be the advocate of retirement, and that Evelyn, comparatively a recluse, should have commended that mode of life which he did not choose."¹ But it is probable that each could write most freshly on circumstances disconnected with the daily events of his life, while speculative ingenuity was all they cared to reach in their arguments. "You had reason to be astonished," says Evelyn, writing to Cowley, "that I, who had so much celebrated recess, should become an advocate for the enemy. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and there is no person who can do more honour, and breathe more after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and advance by your example; but as those who praised dirt, a flea, or the gout, so have I public employment, and that in so weak a style compared with my antagonists, as by that alone it would appear, that I neither was nor could be serious." In 1667, Mackenzie published his *Moral Gallantry*, one of the reflective treatises of the period, intending to prove the gentlemanliness of virtue, and the possibility of establishing all moral duties on principles of honour—a theory supported by arguments which, had any of the nicer metaphysical minds of the succeeding age thought fit to drive to their ultimate principles, they might have found to be somewhat inimical to the author's hearty church of England feelings, or even the principles of Christianity. But Mr Mackenzie was not a metaphysician, and religion required to be plainly spoken, in terms of presbyterianism or papistry, before it attracted his legal attention. To this production he added a *Consolation against Calumnies*. The fiery course of politics which he had afterwards to run, made

¹ xxxvi. 5.

a hiatus of considerable extent, in the elegant literary pursuits of Mackenzie ; but after his retirement from public life, he wrote another work which may be classified with those just mentioned—*The Moral History of Frugality* ; nor in this classification must we omit his *Essay on Reason*. Mackenzie had associated himself with the elegant wits of England, and his opportunities enabled him, if he was inferior in the actual bullion of genius to many of his countrymen who had gone before him, to give it a more elegant, or, at least, fashionable form. It is probable that any direct imitation, on the part of Mackenzie, may have been from the writings of Cowley, who, in the youth of the ambitious Scottish author, was the acknowledged leader of refinement in English composition. From his opponent Evelyn, he may also have derived facilities in composition ; but it is probable that the best tone he assumed was imparted by the colloquial influence of Dryden. Of Mackenzie, that great man has left an interesting memorial :—“ Had I time, I could enlarge on the beautiful turns of words and thoughts, which are as requisite in this, as in heroic poetry itself. With these beautiful turns I confess myself to have been unacquainted, till about twenty years ago, in a conversation which I had with that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie. He asked me why I did not imitate, in my verse, the turns of Mr Waller and Sir John Denham, of whom he repeated many to me. I had often read with pleasure, and with some profit, these two fathers of our English poetry, but had not seriously enough considered their beauties, which give the last perfection to their works. Some sprinkling of this sort I had also formerly in my plays, but they were casual and not designed. But this hint, thus seasonably given me, first made me sensible of my own wants, and brought me afterwards to seek for the supply of them in other English authors.” This is given by Dryden in his Discourse on the Origin and Progress of Satire, prefixed to his Juvenal, published two years after Mackenzie’s death. Mackenzie is characterized by the Edinburgh Review, as having been in his style not exempt from Scotticisms : “ but he is perfectly free from those, perhaps, more disagreeable vices, into which more celebrated Scottish writers have been betrayed, by a constant fear of Scotticism. He composes easily and freely, and his style is that of a man who writes his native language.” Meanwhile, along with his elegant prose, he found time and inclination to dabble in poetry. Sometime during his early years, at the bar, he wrote “ Celas’ Country House and Closet,” a poem in English epics, and written in a manner more nearly akin to the style of Pope and his contemporaries, than that which flourished in the author’s own time. Such a passage as the following will enable the reader to comprehend at once the merit of the work, and, taking into consideration the political life of the author, its artificial feeling :—

“ O happy country life, pure as its air ;
 Free from the rage of pride, the pangs of care ;
 Here happy souls lie bathed in soft content,
 And are at once secure and innocent.
 No passion here but love : here is no wound,
 But that by which lovers their names confound,
 On barks of trees, whilst with a smiling face,
 They see those letters as themselves embrace.”

Country life, and love in the midst of it, were standing characteristics of the fashionable poetry of the period, and the stormy politician, anxious, like Richelieu, to distinguish himself in song, must submit to them, as absolutely as the love-sick swain, to whom they are a natural habit. The author seems to have been apprehensive that the fruit of his more elegant studies would not give the

world a favourable opinion of his professional attainments. "The multitude," he says in the conclusion to his Religious Stoic, "(which, albeit, it hath ever been allowed many heads, yet hath never been allowed any brains,) will doubtless accuse my studies of adultery, for hugging contemplations so eccentric to my employment. To these my return is, that these papers are but the parings of my other studies, and because they were but parings, I have flung them out into the streets. I wrote them in my retirements, when I wanted both books and employment; and I resolve, that this shall be the last inroad I shall ever make into foreign contemplations."

Let us now turn from his literature to the political and professional advancement, which interfered with its progress, or at least changed its course. Soon after the Restoration, he was appointed a justice-depute, or assistant to the justiciar or chief justice; a situation, the duties of which were almost equivalent to that of an English puisne judge of the present day, in criminal matters. He must have received the appointment very early in life, as in 1661, he and his colleagues were appointed to repair "once in the week at least to Musselburgh and Dalkeith, and to try and judge such persons as are ther or therabout delated of witchcraft;" and the experience in the dark sciences, obtained by him in this occupation, provided him with much grave and learned matter for his work on the criminal law of Scotland. Within a few years after this period, (the time is not particularly ascertained,) he was knighted. In 1669, he represented the county of Ross, where the influence of his family was extensive, in parliament. During that year, the letter of Charles, proposing the immediate consideration of a plan for an incorporating union of the two kingdoms, was read in parliament. Sir George, an enemy to every thing which struck at the individual consequence and hereditary greatness of the country, in which he held a stake, opposed the proposition. He tells us, in his amusing memoirs of the period, that when the commissioner proposed an answer, closing with the king's proposals, and entitling him to the election of the commissioner, he moved, that the parliament should have a day for the consideration of so serious a matter, as there might be questions about succession to be discussed, "whereupon the commissioner rose in a great passion, and told that he consented that the parliament should deliberate upon the letter now read till to-morrow; but that he understood not, how any member of parliament could be so bold as to inquire into the succession, upon a supposition that his majesty, and all the present royal line, should fail." Next day, Sir George came prepared with a speech on the subject. Of this somewhat interesting effort, he has given us a transcript, which is generally understood to be the earliest authentically reported specimen of legislative eloquence in Scotland. It is compact, clear, accurate, well composed, without flights of ardour, and, therefore, destitute of the burning impetuosity which afterwards distinguished Fletcher and Belhaven. On the whole, it appears, in its present form at least, to have been composed in the closet. His reasoning, when the aim is considered, was prudent and cautious—he considered and doubted "whether it was suitable to our honour, to advance in this union those steps, before England met us in one: and that we have done so in this letter, appears from this, that to treat of an union is one step; the second is to name commissioners; the third is to appoint their quorum, time, and place of their meeting: all which are several steps because they behoved, if they had been concluded in parliament, to have had several votes and conclusions." He also doubted, "whether it were fitter for his majesty's service, and the intended treaty, that the nomination of the commissioners should be referred to his majesty, or rather that they should be nominated in parliament." His speech gave great offence to those who had peculiar grounds for objecting to

long harangues. "About the close of his discourse, he was interrupted by the earl of Tweeddale, who said, that such long discourses were intolerable, especially where they intended to persuade the parliament not to comply with his majesty's desires—which interruption was generally looked upon as a breach of privilege—and it was desired by duke Hamilton, that the earl of Tweeddale should go to the bar; but the gentleman who was interrupted declared, that he had not been interrupted, but had finished his discourse; and, thereupon, that motion took no further effect." Sir George sought distinction in his course through parliament by popular measures. In 1669, an act had been passed, compelling merchants to make oath as to their having paid duties on their merchandise. "The commissioner had that day said, that the stealing of the king's customs was a crime, which was to be provided against: whereupon, Sir George Mackenzie replied, that if it was a crime, no man could be forced to swear for it; for by no law under heaven was it ever ordained that a man should swear in what was criminal. This, and all other passages of that day, joined with Sir George owning the burghs, in which it was alleged he had no proper interest, made his grace swear, in his return from the parliament, that he would have that factious young man removed from the parliament: to effectuate which, he called a council of his favourites, and it was there contrived, that his election should be quarrelled, because he held only lands of the bishop of Ross, but not of his majesty, and so was not a free baron. But they were at last diverted from this resolution by the register, who assured them, that this would make the people jealous of some close design to overturn their liberties, which, as they believed, that gentleman defended upon all occasions; and that he would glory in his exclusion, because it would be believed that they could not effectuate their intentions, if he were allowed to keep his place in parliament." Such is his own account of his parliamentary conduct,—it may be correct in point of fact, and he has abstained from any mention of the motives. He opposed the act of forfeiture against the western rebels, insisting that no man ought to be found or proved guilty in absence. His account of the opposition of the advocates on the subject of appeals, along with his somewhat suspicious conduct towards his rival Lockhart, have been already detailed.² Sir George Mackenzie would have gone to the grave with the character of a patriot, had he not been placed in a position where serving a king was more beneficial than serving the people. On the 23d of August, 1677, he was named king's advocate, on the dismissal of Sir John Nisbet. The object of the change was a subject of deep and well founded suspicion. Sir George states that his precursor, "a person of deep and universal learning, having disoblged my lord Hatton, he procured a letter to the lords of session, ordaining them to make inquiry into his having consulted *pro et con.* in the case of the lord chancellor and lord Melville, concerning the tailzie of the estate of Leven," and Sir George amiably represents himself as having persuaded Nisbet to stand to his defence. Wodrow observes that he was appointed, "some say upon a very sordid reason;" and Burnet distinctly states, that it was for the purpose of prosecuting Mitchell, who had been pardoned four years before for the attempted murder of Sharpe: at all events this was his first duty in his high office—it was one which on the whole required some address. Mackenzie had prepared himself, by having been counsel for Mitchell when he was previously tried. "He was a very great instrument," says Wodrow, "in the hands of the presbyterians, and was scarce ever guilty of moderating any harsh proceedings against them, in the eyes of the prelates themselves." As the trial of the earl of Argyle in 1661, was the first important political case in which he had tried his powers as

² In the Life of Sir George Lockhart.

a defender, so was that of his son in 1681, the first which exercised his abilities as a state prosecutor. In the father's case he had to resist the oppressive fictions of the crown lawyers, but all he suffered was amply repaid on the son. After this celebrated trial, he appears to have obtained, as part of the spoil, a gift of the barony of Bute, ratified by the parliament of 1681.³ On the recapture of the earl after his escape, Mackenzie was one of those who objected to a new trial, and he accordingly recommended his suffering on his former sentence; he is alleged to have done so from the probability, that, owing to the extreme injustice of the sentence, his heirs might probably be restored to their heritage. If such was indeed his motive, no man was ever more improvident of his own fame, or disinterested in sacrificing it for others; but Mr Laing has shrewdly observed, "no doubt Sir George at the Revolution would assume that merit with Argyle's son, when they sat together in the convention parliament. But he was the man who procured, when king's advocate, that illegal sentence, on which he moved for Argyle's execution."⁴ Meanwhile his professional ingenuity had been employed in the case of the lawburrows, by which a legal form, useful in the defence of the subject against lawless aggression, was, by adding to its natural power the weight of the royal influence, made an engine of oppression. It would be a vain task to enumerate the minor state prosecutions, which, in this eventful period, gave full employment to this active servant of government—most of them are well known, and they were at any rate numerous enough to stamp him in the minds of his opponents with a character which must live with his name—"The blood-thirsty advocate." In the year 1680, he tried the celebrated Cargill, who, among other acts of inefficacious spiritual authority, had pronounced sentence of excommunication on the lord advocate. When the indictment was read, bearing, in the ordinary terms, that the accused "having cast off all fear of God," &c., the clerk was interrupted by Cargill, who said, "The man who hath caused this paper to be drawn up, hath done it contrary to the light of his own conscience, for he knoweth that I have been a fearer of God from my infancy; but that man, I say, who took the holy Bible in his hand, and said it would never be well with the land till that book was destroyed, I say, *he* is the man who hath cast off all fear of God." In 1684, after the escape of Sir Hugh Campbell, it being felt necessary that Baillie of Jerviswood should suffer, Mackenzie's energies were exercised on the occasion; and he gained the gratitude of the court, by doing what was wanted. Fountainhall has a characteristic note about his proceedings at this period. "Sir William Scott, of Harden, fined in 1500 lb. sterling, for his ladie's being at a conventicle, and being at one himself. It was said the king's advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, got a previous gift of this fine, for journeys to London."⁵ Sir George found it necessary to attempt a vindication of his acts, under the title of "A Vindication of the Government of Charles II.," which, lord Woodhouselee calmly observes, "will fully justify his conduct in the breast of every man whose judgment is not perverted by the same prejudices, hostile to all government, which led those infatuated offenders to the doom they merited."⁶ Sir George was a calm and thinking man, and his vindication bears the aspect of candour; but it is deficient in conclusiveness. "No age," he says, "did see so many thousands pardoned, nor so many indemnities granted, as was in his time: which, as it must be principally ascribed to the extraordinary clemency of the kings he served, so it may be in some measure imputed to the bias which Sir George had to the merciful hand." Sir George leaves out of view, that it is possible for one lord advocate so far to exceed another in the number of his prosecutions,

³ Acts, viii. 679.⁴ History, ii. 154.⁵ Fountainhall's Notes, 70.⁶ Life of Kames, i. Ap. 12.

as both to acquit and sacrifice more than the whole number accused by his brethren. It was not those who were forgiven, but those who were not forgiven, that fix upon the reign of Charles II., and also upon his Scottish advocate, the indelible character of oppression and blood-thirstiness. It must, at the same time, be allowed, that the acute mind of Sir George Mackenzie was never asleep to practical improvements in jurisprudence, although the lust of power was sufficient to subdue his efforts, or turn them into another course. While he wielded the sword of persecution himself, he did much to unfit it for the use of others. He countenanced and cherished a principle, which called for the examination of all witnesses in criminal cases, in presence of the accused, instead of the secret chamber of the privy council. A frightful fiction of the law of both countries, by which no evidence could be led by a prisoner in opposition to the assertions of the libel made by the prosecutor, as representing the king, was removed by Sir George, forty years before it ceased to exist in England; and he put a stop to the system of permitting the clerk of court to be enclosed with the king, for the purpose of assisting him. This was done with a view to preserve the independence of jurymen; but let it be remarked, that in his work on criminal law, he advises the total abolition of trial by jury. In 1686, Mackenzie showed that he had a feeling of conscience and that his religion, if entirely political, was not accurately squared to personal aggrandizement, by suffering himself to be dismissed for not agreeing to the catholic projects of James II. In 1688, however, he was restored, on the advancement of his successor, Dalrymple, to the presidency of the court of session.⁷ The Revolution terminated his political career. At this feverish moment of struggle and disappointment, he could so far abstract his mind from politics, as to perform the greatest public service which is ever now connected with his name, by founding the Advocates' Library. The inaugural speech which was pronounced on the occasion, is preserved in his works. The institution has flourished, and redeems Scotland from the imputation of not possessing an extensive public library. After the Revolution, Sir George threw himself into the arms of the university of Oxford, the fittest receptacle for so excellent a vindicator of the old laws of divine right. He was admitted a student on the 2nd of June, 1690; but he did not long live to feel the blessings of the retirement he had praised, and for the first time experienced. He died at St James's on the 2nd May, 1691. He was still remembered in the national feeling as a great man, and his funeral was one of unusual pomp. He lay several days in state in the abbey of Holyrood House, whence his body was conveyed to the Grey Friars' churchyard, attended by a procession, consisting of the council, the nobility, the college of justice, the college of physicians, the university, the clergy, and many others.

Sir George wrote several works of a more laborious cast than those to which we have referred. His *Institute of the Law of Scotland* is well arranged, but, in comparison with the profoundness of Dalrymple, is meagre, and its brevity makes it of little use. His *Laws and Customs in Matters Criminal*, is full of useful information, and is the earliest arrangement (though not a very clear one) of our criminal code. His "Observations on the Laws and Customs of Nations as to Precedency, with the Science of Heraldry as part of the Law of Nations," is esteemed by heralds. When Stillingfleet and Lloyd made their critical attacks on the fabulous history of Scotland, Sir George, who seemed to consider it a very serious matter to deprive his majesty of forty ancestors, wrote in 1680 "A Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland," in which he comes forward as his majesty's advocate, and distinctly hints to the contemners of the royal line,

⁷ Fountainhall, 267.

that, had they written in Scotland, he might have had occasion to put his authority in force against them. These works, along with the observations on the acts of parliament, and some other minor productions, were edited by Ruddiman, in two handsome folio volumes, in 1722. His "Memoirs," or account of his own times, certainly the most interesting of all his works, though promised at that time, was withheld through the timidity of his friends. When long lost sight of, the greater part of it was a few years ago recovered to the world. It is full of graphic pictures of the state of the times; and if not so descriptive in character as Clarendon or Burnet, is often more lively in the detail of incident, and more acute in perceiving the selfish motives of the actors.

MACKENZIE, HENRY, one of the most illustrious names connected with polite literature in Scotland. He was born at Edinburgh in August 1745, while the citizens were preparing, by ineffectual fortifications, for the dreaded attack of prince Charles Stuart, then collecting his army in the Highlands.¹ The nativity of Mr Mackenzie was fixed by himself, at a public meeting which he attended late in life, upon the venerable alley denominated *Liberton's Wynd*, now removed in order to admit of a bridge for the connexion of the High Street with the southern districts of the city. His father was Dr Joshua, or (as his name is spelt in the Scots Magazine for 1800, where his death is recorded) Josiah Mackenzie, an eminent physician. Dr Mackenzie was, we believe, a native of Fortrose, upon the Moray frith, but had removed in early life to Edinburgh, where he acquired an extensive practice as a physician, and distinguished himself in the world of letters as author of a volume of Medical and Literary Essays.² The mother of the author of the *Man of Feeling* was Margaret, eldest daughter of Mr Rose of Kilravock, a gentleman of ancient family in Nairnshire.

After being educated at the high school and university of Edinburgh, Mr Mackenzie, by the advice of some friends of his father, was articled to Mr Inglis of Redhall, in order to acquire a knowledge of the business of the Exchequer, a law department, in which he was likely to have fewer competitors than in any other in Scotland. To this, though not perfectly compatible with the literary taste which he very early displayed, he applied with due diligence; and, in 1765, went to London to study the modes of English Exchequer practice, which, as well as the constitution of the court, were similar in both countries. While there, his talents induced a friend to solicit his remaining in London, and qualifying himself for the English bar. But the anxious wishes of his family that he should reside with them, and the moderation of an unambitious mind, decided his return to Edinburgh; where he became, first, partner, and afterwards successor, to Mr Inglis, in the office of attorney for the crown.

His professional labour, however, did not prevent his attachment to literary pursuits. When in London, he sketched some part of his first and very popular work, *The Man of Feeling*, which was published in 1771, without his name,

¹ Sir Walter Scott, in the memoir of Mr Mackenzie, prefixed to his novels in Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, states that his birth took place "on the same day on which prince Charles landed." This, however, is incompatible with the fact of Mr M. having been born in August, as the prince landed on the 25th of July. We may here also mention, that the original source of the memoir itself was not, as implied by Sir Walter, a Paris edition of the *Man of Feeling*, but a publication, entitled "The British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits."

² "We have heard that some of Harley's feelings were taken from those of the author himself, when, at his first entrance on the dry and barbarous study of municipal law, he was looking back, like Blackstone, on the land of the Muses, which he was condemned to leave behind him. It has also been said, that the fine sketch of Miss Walton was taken from the heiress of a family of distinction, who ranked at that time high in the Scottish fashionable world. But such surmises are little worth the tracing; for we believe no original character was ever composed by any author, without the idea having been previously suggested by

and was so much a favourite with the public, as to become, a few years after, the occasion of a remarkable fraud. A Mr Eccles of Bath, observing the continued mystery as to the author, laid claim to the work as his own, and, in order to support his pretensions, transcribed the whole with his own hand, with an appropriate allowance of blottings, interlineations, and corrections. So plausibly was this claim put forward, and so pertinaciously was it adhered to, that Messrs Cadell and Strachan, the publishers, found it necessary to undeceive the public by a formal contradiction.

Though Mr Mackenzie preserved the anonymity of the *Man of Feeling* for some years, (probably from prudential motives with reference to his business,) he did not scruple to indulge, both before and after this period, in the literary society with which the Scottish capital abounded. He informs us in his *Life of Home*, that he was admitted in boyhood as a kind of page to the tea-drinkings which then constituted the principal festive entertainment of the more polished people in Edinburgh; and his early acquaintance with Hume, Smith, Robertson, Blair, and the rest of the literary galaxy, then in the ascendant, is evidenced from the same source. He was an early intimate of the ingenious blind poet, Dr Blacklock; and at the house of that gentleman, as we have been informed by a survivor of the party, then a youthful boarder in the house, met Dr Johnson and Boswell, when the former was passing through Edinburgh on his journey to the Hebrides. To quote the words of our informant—"Several strangers had been invited on the occasion, (it was to breakfast;) and, amongst others, Dr Mackenzie, and his son, the late Mr Henry Mackenzie. These gentlemen went away before Dr Johnson; and Mrs Blacklock took the opportunity of pronouncing a panegyric upon the father and son, which she concluded by saying, that though Dr Mackenzie had a large family, and was married to a lady who was his son's step-mother, nevertheless the son lived with his own wife and family in the same house,³ and the greatest harmony obtained among all the parties. On this Dr Johnson said, 'That's wrong, madam;' and stated a reason, which it were as well to leave unchronicled. This settled Mrs Blacklock's opinion of the doctor. Several years ago, on calling to remembrance the particulars of this breakfast with Mr Henry Mackenzie, he said there was another reason for Mrs Blacklock's dislike: she had filled no less than twenty-two cups of tea to Dr Johnson at this breakfast; which, I told Mr M., was too many, for Mrs Blacklock had appointed me to number them, and I made them only *nineteen*!"⁴

Some years after the publication of the *Man of Feeling*, Mr Mackenzie published his *Man of the World*, which was intended as a counterpart to the other. In his former fiction, he imagined a hero constantly obedient to every

something which he had observed in nature."—*Sir Walter Scott, in Ballantyne's Novelists' Library.*

³ Their residence was in one of the floors of a tall house at the junction of the Cowgate and Grassmarket, either above or below a floor occupied by Mrs Syme, the maternal grandmother of Lord Brougham.

⁴ Our correspondent's introduction to this anecdote may be deemed worthy of the reader's notice. "I was twice in company with Dr Johnson, when he came to Edinburgh, on his journey to the Hebrides. Being then a boarder in Dr Blacklock's, my request to be present at the breakfast given to Dr Johnson was readily granted. The impression which I then received of him can never be effaced; but it was not of an unpleasant nature. He did not appear to me to be that savage which some of my college companions had described him: on the contrary, there was much suavity and kindness in his manner and address to Dr Blacklock. The blind poet generally stood in company, rocking from one side to another; he had remarkably small white hands, which Dr Johnson held in his great paws during the most part of the time they conversed together, caressing and stroking them, as he might have done those of a pretty child." It is necessary to mention, that the great moralist was, by Boswell's showing, in one of his gentlest moods on this occasion.

emotion of his moral sense. In the *Man of the World*, he exhibited, on the contrary, a person rushing headlong into misery and ruin, and spreading misery all around him, by pursuing a happiness which he expected to obtain in defiance of the moral sense. His next production was *Julia de Roubigné*, a novel in a series of letters, designed, in its turn, as a counterpart to the *Man of the World*. "A friend of the author," says Sir Walter Scott, "the celebrated Lord Kames, we believe, had represented to Mr Mackenzie, in how many poems, plays, and novels, the distress of the piece is made to turn upon the designing villany of some one of the dramatis personæ. On considering his observations, the author undertook, as a task fit for his genius, the composition of a story, in which the characters should be all naturally virtuous, and where the calamities of the catastrophe should arise, as frequently happens in actual life, not out of schemes of premeditated villany, but from the excess and over-indulgence of passions and feelings in themselves blameless, nay, praiseworthy, but which, encouraged to a morbid excess, and coming into fatal and fortuitous concurrence with each other, lead to the most disastrous consequences. Mr Mackenzie executed his purpose; and as the plan fell in most happily with the views of a writer, whose object was less to describe external objects, than to read a lesson to the human heart, he has produced one of the most heart-wringing histories which has ever been written. The very circumstances which palliate the errors of the sufferers, in whose distress we interest ourselves, point out to the reader that there is neither hope, remedy, nor revenge."

In 1777 or 1778, a number of young men of literary taste, chiefly connected with the Scottish bar, formed themselves into an association for the prosecution of their favourite studies, which came to bear the name of the *Mirror Club*. An account of this fraternity, of its members, and of the way in which they conducted their meetings, has already been given under the article "*WILLIAM CRAIG*," being derived from the oral information of Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, the latest survivor of the society.⁵ Of the *Mirror Club*, Mr Mackenzie was readily acknowledged chief; and, accordingly, when it was resolved to issue their literary essays in a small weekly paper, resembling the *Spectator*, he was appointed to undertake the duties connected with the publication. The *Mirror* was commenced on the 23d of January, 1779, in the shape of a small folio sheet, price three halfpence, and terminated on the 27th of May, 1780; having latterly been issued twice a-week. Of the one hundred and ten papers to which the *Mirror* extended, forty-two were contributed by Mr Mackenzie, including *La Roche*, and several others of the most admired of his minor pieces. The sale, during the progress of the publication, never ex-

⁵ Sir William Macleod Bannatyne was born, January 26, 1743, O. S., and died November 30, 1833, in his ninety-first year. He was the son of Mr Roderick Macleod, W. S., whose sister, lady Clanranald, for protecting Prince Charles in his wanderings, was made prisoner, and kept for some time in confinement in London. The "young Clanranald," who led out his clan in 1745, and took the town of Dundee, was therefore cousin-german to Sir William. The venerable subject of this note, passed advocate, January 22, 1765, and was the intimate friend of the first lord Melville, when at the bar, and of several other eminent persons in that profession, with whom he used to meet regularly for mutual improvement in forensic and legal business. His contributions to the *Mirror* were five papers, which are pointed out in the latest edition. On the resignation of lord Swinton, in 1799, he was raised to the bench, where he performed the duties of a judge till 1823. On his retirement, he received the honour of knighthood. The remainder of his life was spent by Sir William in a cheerful and hospitable leisure at his residence in Whiteford House, near the bottom of the Canongate, where he was for many years the only surviving specimen of the old town gentleman. Sir William was full of anecdote and information respecting the political history of Scotland during the last century, and showed, in conversation with the present writer, as intimate an acquaintance, and as lively a recollection of the secrets of the Walpole and Bute administrations, as could be displayed by any living man, respecting that of Mr Canning or the Duke of Wellington.

ceeded four hundred copies ; but this was more than sufficient to bring it under the notice of a wide and influential circle, and to found the reputation it has since enjoyed. When re-published in duodecimo volumes, a considerable sum was realized from the copyright, out of which the proprietors presented £100 to the Orphan Hospital, and treated themselves to a hogshhead of claret, to be drunk at their ensuing meetings.

The *Lounger*, a work of exactly the same character, was commenced by the same writers, and under the same editorship, February 6, 1785, and continued once a-week till the 6th of January, 1787 ; out of the hundred and one papers to which it extended, fifty-seven are the production of Mackenzie. One of the latter papers the editor devoted to a generous and adventurous critique on the poems of Burns, which were just then published, and had not yet been approved by the public voice. As might have been expected, Mackenzie dwells most fondly on the Addresses to the Mouse and the Mountain Daisy, which struck a tone nearest to that prevailing in his own mind.

On the institution of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Mr Mackenzie became one of the members ; and amongst the papers with which he enriched its transactions, are an elegant tribute to the memory of his friend lord Abercromby, and a memoir on German tragedy ; the latter of which bestows high praise on the *Emelia Galotti* of Lessing, and on the *Robbers* by Schiller. For this memoir he had procured the materials through the medium of a French work ; but desiring afterwards to enjoy the native beauties of German poetry, he took lessons in German from a Dr Okely, who was at that time studying medicine in Edinburgh. The fruits of his attention to German literature appeared further in the year 1791, in a small volume, containing translations of the *Set of Horses* by Lessing, and of two or three other dramatic pieces. But the most remarkable result of his studies in this department, was certainly the effect which his memoir produced on the mind of Sir Walter Scott, then a very young man. It gave a direction to the genius of this illustrious person, at a time when it was groping about for something on which to employ itself ; and, harmonizing with the native legendary lore with which he was already replete, decided, perhaps, that Scott was to strike out a new path for himself, instead of following tamely on in the already beaten walks of literature.

Mr Mackenzie was also an original member of the Highland Society ; and by him were published the volumes of their *Transactions*, to which he prefixed an account of the institution, and the principal proceedings of the society. In these *Transactions* is also to be found his view of the controversy respecting Ossian's Poems, and an interesting account of Gaelic poetry.

Among Mackenzie's compositions are several political pamphlets, all upon the Tory side ; the first being "An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of 1784," in which he strongly defended the views of his friend, Mr Henry Dundas, afterwards viscount Melville. At the time of the French Revolution, he wrote various tracts, with the design of counteracting the progress of liberal principles in his own country. These services, with the friendship of Lord Melville and Mr George Rose, obtained for him, in 1804, the lucrative office of comptroller of taxes for Scotland, which he held till his death.

In 1793, Mr Mackenzie wrote the life of Dr Blacklock, prefixed to a quarto edition of the blind poet's works, which was published for the benefit of his widow. Mr Mackenzie's intimacy with Blacklock, gave him an opportunity of knowing the habits of his life, the bent of his mind, and the feelings peculiar to the privation of sight under which Blacklock laboured. In 1812, he read to the Royal Society his *Life of John Home*, which was some years after prefixed to an edition of that poet's works, and also published separately. At the time he

read this paper to the Society, he also laid before them, in connexion with it, some *Critical Essays*, chiefly relative to dramatic poetry, which have not been published.

Mackenzie was himself a dramatic writer, though not a successful one. A tragedy, written by him in early life, under the name of *The Spanish Father*, was never represented; in consequence of Mr Garrick's opinion, that the catastrophe was of too shocking a kind for the modern stage; although he owned the merit of the poetry, the force of some of the scenes, and the scope for fine acting in the character of Alphonso, the leading person in the drama. In 1773, Mr Mackenzie produced a tragedy under the title of *The Prince of Tunis*, which, with Mrs. Yates as its heroine, was performed with applause for six nights, at the Edinburgh theatre. Of three other dramatic pieces by Mr Mackenzie, the next was *The Shipwreck*, or *Fatal Curiosity*, which might be described as an alteration of Lilly's play under the latter of the two names. The comedies entitled the *Force of Fashion*, and *The White Hypocrite*, both of which were unsuccessful, complete the list. Mr Mackenzie's grand deficiency as a dramatic author was his inability to draw forcible characters. His novels and tales charm by other means altogether; but in the drama, striking characters, and a skilful management of them, are indispensable.

In 1808, Mackenzie published a complete edition of his works in eight volumes. From that period, and indeed from one considerably antecedent to it, he might be said to have abandoned literature, though, to use his own affecting image, as employed at one of the meetings of the Royal Society, the old stump would still occasionally send forth a few green shoots. The patronage of the government was unfortunately extended in a somewhat improper shape, in as far as the office bestowed upon him, though lucrative, required unremitting personal labour. He was thus unable, even if he had been willing, to cultivate literature to any considerable purpose. Such leisure as he possessed, he spent chiefly in healthy recreations—in shooting, particularly, and angling, to which he was devotedly attached, and the former of which he had practised in early life, on the ground now occupied by the New Town of Edinburgh. He thus protracted his days to a healthy old age, until he finally stood amidst his fellow men, like Noah amongst his descendants, a sole-surviving specimen of a race of literary men, all of whom had long been consigned to the dust. His recollections of the great men who lived in his youth, were most distinct and interesting; but it is to be regretted, that with the exception of what he has given in his *Life of Home*, he never could be prevailed upon to commit them to paper. The sole physical failing of his latter years was a slight deafness, which, however, seemed only to give him the greater power of speech, as, by a natural deception of the mind, he probably conceived, that what was inaudible to himself, was so, or ran the risk of being so, to his hearers also. At length, after a comparatively brief period of decline, he died, January 14, 1831, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

By his wife, Miss Penuel Grant, daughter of Sir Ludovick Grant, of Grant, Bart., and lady Mary Ogilvie, Mr Mackenzie had eleven children, the eldest of whom is a judge of the courts of session and justiciary—and a younger, Mr Holt Mackenzie, one of the members of the privy council.

As a novelist and essayist, Mackenzie still ranks in the first class, though, perhaps, rather by a reflection of his former fame, than through any active or sincere appreciation of his writings by the present generation. It is, perhaps, unfair to judge of the intellectual efforts of an author, by any other age than his own, seeing that, as Johnson well remarks, the most of men content themselves if they only can, in some degree, outstrip their predecessors. Yet it is impos-

sible to overlook that Mr Mackenzie's works are not of a kind to retain the highest degree of popularity beyond the age in which they were written, and that they have been surpassed by many later writers, who, from the greater competition which they had to contend with, have not attained nearly so high an eminence. Mr Mackenzie lived in an age, when to attain certain proprieties in language, was looked upon as almost the *summum bonum* of authorship of any kind: men had not yet become sufficiently at ease about the vehicle of their thoughts, to direct their attention solely, or even chiefly, as they do now, to the sense which is conveyed. Hence, we find, in his works, a faultless sweetness and delicacy of diction, which, however, is only a mannerism, though not exactly that of an individual—while the whole scenery, incidents, and characters, instead of being taken directly from nature, are little more than a vivification of what have been the stock of fictitious writers from the commencement of the art. The *real life* with which Mr Mackenzie was acquainted, must have been, in a great measure, the same from which Sir Walter Scott afterwards fashioned his immortal narratives; but this, to Mackenzie, fashion had forbidden, and he had not the force to break through the rules of that tawdry deity. He was content to take all his materials at second-hand, to grapple only with that literary human nature, which, like certain dresses on the stage, runs through all books from perhaps some successful model of antiquity, without ever gathering a spark of the genuine article of the living world in its course. Dexterously, we allow, is the Mosaic composed, and beautiful is the crust of sentiment in which it was presented. As works of art, the novels and minor stories of Mackenzie are exquisite; but, nevertheless, they could never have attained so great a celebrity, if they had not appeared at a time when mere art was chiefly regarded by the public, and when, as yet, men esteemed nature as something not exactly fitted for drawing-room intercourse.

While we thus, with great deference, express an unfavourable opinion of his merits as a writer of fiction, we allow to Mr Mackenzie the highest credit as a moralist, and also as a composer of language, which is to be esteemed as no mean accomplishment, and depends more upon native gifts than is generally supposed. The moral sense of Mackenzie was in the highest degree pure, tender, and graceful; and has imbued his writings with a character for which they can hardly ever fail to be esteemed. "The principal object of all his novels," says Sir Walter Scott, "has been to reach and sustain a tone of moral pathos, by representing the effect of incidents, whether important or trifling, upon the human mind, and especially on those which were not only just, honourable, and intelligent, but so framed as to be responsive to those finer feelings to which ordinary hearts are callous." The sweet collocation of the words in which all these efforts are made, combines to render the effect, to an extraordinary degree, soothing, refining, and agreeable.

MACKINTOSH, (SIR) JAMES, a distinguished historian and statesman, was born on the 24th of October, 1765, at Alldowrie, the residence of his grandmother, situated on the banks of Loch Ness, about seven miles from Inverness. He was in his own person, being the eldest of three children, the representative of the Killochy branch of the family of Mackintosh, (a property which they acquired in the fifteenth century,) and was the eleventh in descent from Allan, third son of Malcolm, the tenth chief of the clan, who was one of the leaders in the celebrated battle of Harlaw, fought in 1411. The lairds of Killochy, as the eldest branch of the Mackintoshes extant, were always captains of the watch (a feudal military appointment) to the chief of the clan, and acted in this capacity in all the hostilities in which he happened to be engaged.

John Mackintosh of Killochy, father to the subject of this memoir, held a

commission for several years in Campbell's Highlanders, and was wounded in the Seven Years' War in Germany. He was afterwards a captain in the 68th regiment, and served with this corps for a considerable time in Gibraltar, and other places abroad. He was a man of amiable manners and disposition, and much esteemed by all who knew him, amongst the most remarkable of whom was major Mercer, the author of a volume of pleasing poetry, who thus speaks of him, sixteen years after his death, in a letter to lord Glenbervie:—"We lived together," says this gentleman, "for two years in the same tent, without one unkind word or look. John Mackintosh was one of the liveliest, most good-humoured, gallant lads I ever knew."

Sir James's mother, Marjory Macgilivray, who died at Gibraltar, while he was yet a child, was a daughter of Alexander Macgilivray, Esq. of the state of Carolina.

From a very early period of life the subject of this memoir discovered a singular propensity to reading; a passion which his father, who had been himself accustomed to an active life, and who desired that his son's pursuits should be of a more stirring kind, endeavoured, but in vain, to subdue. Little foreseeing the eminence to which this studious disposition was one day to raise him, he twitted the boy with his sedentary and monotonous life; telling him, with the view of rousing him to an interest in what was passing around him, and of directing his inclinations into a livelier channel, that he would become a mere pedant. His attachment to books, however, was too deeply seated in his nature to be removed by such sarcasms, and his father's opposition had the effect only of driving him to do that by stealth and in secret which he had done before openly. He rose at midnight when the family had retired to rest, lighted his candle, and pursued his solitary studies unmolested till the approach of morning.

In consequence of his father's being much abroad, the care of young Mackintosh devolved chiefly upon his grandmother, a woman of superior endowments, and to whom he was in a great measure indebted for the early discipline which his mind received. When of sufficient age to leave home, the future historian and statesman was sent to the academy of Fortrose, then the most distinguished seminary in that part of Scotland, and placed under the tuition of Mr Stalker, one of the masters. Here young Mackintosh rapidly acquired, and continued to maintain, a marked superiority over all his schoolfellows for ability and application. In this remote corner of the world, and at the early period of his life, his future fame was shadowed forth in a local reputation which gave to "Jamie Mackintosh" the character of a prodigy of learning and talent. His master entertained a similar opinion of him, and, as a proof of his confidence in his acquirements and abilities, devolved upon him, while yet a mere boy, nearly the entire management of the classical department of the school. At this period, too, he began to discover that talent for oratory and declamation by which he so eminently distinguished himself in after life. The eloquence, however, on which latterly "listening senates hung" was at this period poured out from the top of the grave stones in the churchyard of Fortrose, on which the young orator used to mount in moments of enthusiasm, and declaim from Shakspeare and Milton to a wondering, gaping, and admiring audience of his schoolfellows. The political opinions which distinguished Mr Mackintosh throughout his life were also very early formed. He was said by a lady, a relative of his own, to have been "born a whig," but he certainly was not this by inheritance, for his friends and connexions were all staunch tories and Jacobites, and they did not view without regret and sorrow the apostasy of this scion of the house of Killechy. The youthful fancy, however, of the young

heir to that venerable title had been captivated by the fluency and sentimental descriptions of the democracies of Greece and Rome, which he found in his favourite classics, and he formed opinions of his own on the subject of political freedom with but little reference to the creed of his family. Pym, Hampden, and Algernon Sidney, were the objects of his idolatry; their example excited his imagination, and their writings imbued him with those political principles which "grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength." The Utopian notions, however, which so often mislead men of weak minds, had no such effect on Mr Mackintosh. He saw the necessity of sobering down all such fanciful theories to the level of real life, and of pruning and adapting them to the passions and weaknesses of human nature. He was above all impressed with the necessity of circumscribing his ideas of political freedom, which had before run wild, by the great outlines of the British constitution. In his own impressive and figurative language, he desired, that the light which might break in on England should be, "through well-contrived, and well-disposed windows, and not through flaws and breaches, the yawning chasms of our ruin."

The singular talents which young Mackintosh discovered while at Fortrose, and the extraordinary proficiency which he made in his studies, determined his friends to bestow upon him a university education, and he was accordingly, through the kindness of a relative, placed in King's college, Aberdeen, under Mr Leslie. He here also attended the lectures of James Dunbar, LL.D., professor of moral philosophy, and Mr William Ogilvie, professor of humanity.

While at Aberdeen he formed an acquaintance and intimacy with the late Rev. Robert Hall of Leicester, which continued throughout their future lives. They were inseparable while at college, and a biographical sketch of his deceased friend was amongst the last literary efforts of Mackintosh. It was intended for the new edition of Mr Hall's works published by Dr Gregory.

Having acquired a complete knowledge of Greek and mathematics, Mr Mackintosh, who had now determined on adopting the medical profession, repaired to Edinburgh to complete his education at the university of that city. Here he attended the lectures of Dr Cullen and professor Black, preparatory to his taking the degree of doctor of medicine, and applying himself to regular practice in that profession. He also joined the well known literary club called the Speculative Society, instituted in 1764, in which he became a keen debater, and distinguished himself by the boldness of his opinions, and the ability and eloquence with which he expounded and maintained them. Amongst his associates at this period were Mr, now lord Gillies, Mr, now lord Moncrieff, and the present earl of Lauderdale, and amongst the number of his friends, the illustrious author of the "Wealth of Nations," who early discovered, and warmly encouraged, the promising talents of the young orator.

It was at this period that Mr Mackintosh's mind became seriously directed towards general literature, and to moral, political, and speculative philosophy, the result of his studying, which he did with the most serious attention, the works of Robertson, Smith, Clark, and Brown, who were then in the zenith of their fame. Having received his medical degree, although he had now determined to abandon that profession, to which, indeed, he had never been attached, he set out for London in the year 1787, in company with the eldest son of Sir James Grant of Grant, who had, about this period, become knight of the shire for the county of Moray. Undetermined as to his future pursuits, he lingered idly about the metropolis for some time, made a short visit to the continent, and finally returned to study law, having fairly parted with physic. In the year following, viz. 1788, he succeeded, by the death of his father, to the estate of Killoch, now worth about £900 per annum. Method and economy, however, were

not, at this period, amongst the number of Mr Mackintosh's virtues, and the consequence was, that notwithstanding this handsome accession to his means, he soon found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties of so extensive and urgent a kind as compelled him to part with his patrimonial inheritance for the very inadequate sum of £9000. Still but loosely attached to his professional studies, he now permitted his attention to be diverted to the science of politics, and in 1789, published a pamphlet on the Regency Question, in which he asserted the constitutional right of the heir-apparent to supply his father's place in the circumstances which then gave rise to the discussion. Pitt's theory, however, prevailed, and thus the first published literary essay of Mr Mackintosh was found upon the losing side. Hitherto he had attracted but little public notice, and had been foiled in his attempt to obtain political celebrity. Both of these, however, were awaiting him, and on no distant day. In 1791, he published his celebrated work entitled "*Vindiciæ Gallicæ, or a defence of the French Revolution and its English admirers, against the accusations of the right honourable Edmund Burke; including some strictures on the late production of Monsieur de Calonne,*" an octavo volume of 379 pages. This work he sold, while yet but partly written, for a trifling sum; but the merits and success of the production induced the publisher to depart from the original contract, and to give its author triple the sum stipulated for. The first two editions were disposed of within four months; and a third appeared in the end of August, 1791. The extraordinary talent which this work displayed, procured Mr Mackintosh an extensive and illustrious circle of acquaintances, in which were, amongst others, Sheridan, Grey, Whitbread, Fox, the duke of Bedford, and his celebrated antagonist, Burke himself, who soon after the appearance of the "*Vindiciæ*," opened a correspondence with him, and it is said succeeded in changing and modifying to a considerable extent many of the opinions of its author.

Mr Mackintosh now (1792) entered himself as a student of Lincoln's Inn, and in 1795, was called to the bar by that society; but did not, for several years thereafter, attain any considerable practice. He attended the courts, however, and went the Norfolk circuits, but without much improvement to his business.

With the view of enlarging his income, which the want of professional success kept within narrow bounds, he, in the year 1798, announced his intention of delivering a course of lectures on "*The Law of Nature and of Nations.*" A suspicion of his motives in a political point of view raised some obstacles in the way of this attempt; but these being effectually removed by his Introductory Lecture, which was printed under the title of "*A Discourse on the Law of Nature and of Nations,*" and which drew the most flattering eulogiums from both Mr Fox and Mr Pitt, he was permitted to proceed, and delivered his course in Lincoln's Inn hall to a large and respectable audience. These "*Discourses*" are allowed by all to comprehend nearly every excellency which human sagacity and human intelligence can bring to bear on such subjects; profundity and felicity of thought, high intellectual power, and chaste and elegant language.

After the general election of 1802, Mr Mackintosh was retained as counsel in several controverted cases, and acquitted himself with great ability before committees of the house of commons, but still without attracting much public notice as a barrister. Next year, however, a case was put into his hands which at once gained him the highest professional reputation. This was the defence of M. Peltier, editor of "*The Ambigu,*" a French journal, for a libel against Bonaparte, then first consul of France, and at that time at peace with this country. The trial took place on the 21st of February, 1803, in the court of King's Bench. Mr Mackintosh stood alone and unsupported in the defence of Peltier,

against an array of talent on the opposite side which would have appalled any man of less resolution, and which nothing but a strong confidence in his own abilities and intellectual researches could have enabled him to encounter. His principal antagonists in this case were Mr Perceval, at that period attorney general, afterwards prime minister, and Mr Abbot, afterwards lord Tenterden. Mr Mackintosh's pleading on this celebrated trial was one of the most masterly efforts of the kind which had ever been witnessed. It was one continued strain of powerful, impressive, and classical eloquence. His whole energies were concentrated in the effort, and the whole stores of his vast and retentive memory, and of his elegant and felicitous fancy were brought forth and mingled with the current of his eloquence, imparting to it a richness and splendour of tint, which great and original minds only can produce. His speech on this occasion was declared by lord Ellenborough to be "the most eloquent oration he had ever heard in Westminster Hall." A still more flattering compliment was paid the orator by Madame de Stael, who translated the speech into French, in which shape it was circulated throughout Europe.

Mr Mackintosh was at this period professor of general polity and the laws in the East India college at Hertford, an appointment which the reputation he had acquired from his "Lectures on the Law of Nature and of Nations" had obtained for him; but the splendid display of talent which he had exhibited in his defence of Peltier procured him much more powerful patronage, and opened up to him prospects more commensurate to his deserts. He now attracted the notice of the government, by which he was considered a person who might be profitably employed in some official situation connected with the state, and he was accordingly offered in the same year the recordership of Bombay. This appointment he accepted, though not without some hesitation, and before setting out he received the honour of knighthood. He remained in Bombay for seven years, discharging the grave and important duties of a chief judge with an uprightness, integrity, and ability unsurpassed in the annals of criminal jurisprudence. Faithful to the high trust reposed in him, he yet tempered the severity of the laws by mingling, whenever it was possible to do so, some drops of mercy in the cups of bitterness, which duty to his country and to society compelled him to administer. A well judged and discriminate lenity, that lenity which makes the laws not an object of contempt and ridicule, but of love and reverence, and which leaves no room for grudge or reflection at their awards, formed one of the most prominent and god-like features in the judicial character of Sir James Mackintosh. A remarkable and beautiful instance of his application of this principle occurred during his recordership in Bombay. Two young natives were brought before him, tried, and convicted of having conspired to waylay and murder a Dutchman from Cochin. The penalty attached to the crime by the law was death. Some circumstances in the case, however, afforded Sir James an opportunity of extending mercy to them so far as to save their lives, and he availed himself of it. The prisoners were in the mean time withdrawn from the bar, and during this interval came to a resolution, between themselves, of murdering their judge when they should be called up to receive, as they expected, sentence of death, and for this purpose they provided themselves with knives. The design of the ruffians was most providentially discovered in sufficient time to prevent its being carried into effect. The sequel, a story worthy of the best days of Rome, and of the noblest and best of her citizens, will be best told in the language which Sir James himself addressed to the culprits, when they were brought again before him to receive the commuted sentence which his lenity had procured for them. "I was employed," he said, addressing the prisoners, "in considering the mildest judgment which public duty would allow me to pronounce on you,

when I learned from undoubted authority, that your thoughts towards me were not of the same nature. I was credibly, or rather certainly informed, that you had admitted into your minds the desperate project of destroying your own lives at the bar where you stand, and of signaling your suicide by the previous destruction of at least one of your judges. If that murderous project had been executed, I should have been the first British magistrate who ever stained with his blood the bench on which he sat to administer justice. But I could never have died better than in the discharge of my duty. When I accepted the office of a minister of justice, I knew that I ought to despise unpopularity and slander, and even death itself. Thank God I do despise them; and I solemnly assure you, that I feel more compassion for the gloomy and desperate state of mind which could harbour such projects, than resentment for that part of them which was directed against myself. I should consider myself as indelibly disgraced, if a thought of your projects against me were to influence my judgment." He then passed sentence on them to be imprisoned for twelve months, the exact amount of punishment he had originally proposed.

During his residence in India, Sir James contributed a number of valuable papers to the "Asiatic Register," and supplied the late Dr Buchanan with a large quantity of material for his voluminous works on India. His return to England was hastened by a severe illness. He left Bombay in November 1811, retiring from the Recordership with a pension of £1200 per annum.

In July 1813, a little more than twelvemonths after his arrival in his native country, he was elected, through the interest of lord Cawdor, as representative for the county of Nairn; an occasion which called him to visit the friends and the scenes of his youth; and no man could enjoy the happiness, or be more feelingly alive to all the romantic, endearing, and delightful recollections and associations, which the contemplation of objects familiar to our boyhood, and from which we have been long absent, is calculated to produce. He was, as all men of noble and generous minds are, an enthusiastic admirer of the external beauties of nature, and his native district afforded ample inducements to the indulgence of this pure and exalted taste; a taste which he himself has beautifully said, "preserves those habits of reflection and sensibility which receive so many rude shocks in the coarse contests of the world."

In 1818, he was elected for Knaresborough in Yorkshire, through the influence of the duke of Devonshire, and was re-chosen at the subsequent elections of 1820, 1826, 1830, and 1831. He was also elected Lord Rector of the university of Glasgow in 1822, and again in 1823. Sir James was now become a person to whom a national importance and consideration were attached, one of the marked and elevated characters of the country, who had acquired a conventional right from the soundness and capacity of his judgment, and the extraordinary splendour of his abilities, to take an active and prominent part in the management of her affairs, and a conviction of this truth prevailing in those high quarters where it could be acted upon, he was appointed in 1828, one of his majesty's privy council, and on the formation of the Earl Grey administration in 1830, he was made on the 1st December a commissioner for Indian affairs.

In parliament Sir James took a prominent part in all questions connected with foreign policy, and international law; but more especially distinguished himself in the discussions on the alien bill, the liberty of the press, religious toleration, the slave trade, the settlement of Greece, reform in parliament, and on the right of our colonies to self-government. But a question still more congenial to his philanthropic disposition and benevolent nature, than any of these, devolved upon him on the death of Sir Samuel Romilly. This was the consideration of

the best means of amending the criminal law—a code which he had always thought much too sanguinary, and, therefore, but ill adapted for the ends to which all laws ought to be directed. He thought with Goldsmith, that “a man might see his last crime without dying for it; and that very little blood would serve to cement our security.”

His speeches on this subject are full of the most enlightened and statesmanlike views, and combine, in a wonderful degree, all the beauties of eloquence with profound reasoning, and just and noble sentiment. So beautiful, indeed, are his orations on this subject, and so powerful the arguments which form their frame-work, that it excites a feeling of surprise in the reader to find, that they did not instantly accomplish the object for whose attainment they were constructed. They appear irresistible, and seem to comprehend every argument on the point at issue which human ingenuity could devise. As chairman of a committee of the house of commons, on the criminal law, in 1819, Sir James Mackintosh introduced six bills in the course of May, 1820. But three only of these were at the time persisted in, and in the commutation of punishment bill, seven of the eleven offences which it was intended to commute, were expunged in the house of lords, four only being suffered to remain.

Sir James Mackintosh, as already noticed, was in politics a whig, and all his votes and speeches in parliament were in favour of the opinions and sentiments of that party; but he was, perhaps, one of the most moderate and tolerant politicians that ever existed, as the natural mildness and benevolence of his disposition never failed to mingle largely in whatever character he assumed, whether author, statesman, or judge. In all he was the same—amiable, forbearing, and conciliating.

One of Sir James's last speeches in parliament, was on the bill relating to anatomical dissections, in which he strenuously advocated the propriety, nay, necessity of affording to the profession every facility for obtaining subjects for the dissecting table. His speech, on this occasion, was remarkable for all that elegance of diction, and cogency of argument which distinguished his rhetorical effusions; and indicated, besides, a love of science on the part of the speaker, and a zeal for the welfare of mankind, worthy of a great statesman and of a great philanthropist.

Great as Sir James Mackintosh certainly was as an orator, he was yet greater as an author, and the fame which he derives from the latter character, stands on still higher and firmer ground than that on which the former is rested. The *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, published when the author was only in the twenty-sixth year of his age, is an eloquent and powerful political treatise. On all the grand points on which he meets Mr Burke—the expediency and necessity of a revolution in France—the character of the national assembly—the popular excesses which attended the revolution, &c.—it may be safely assumed, that he obtains the mastery in truth and cogency of argument. It ought to be remembered, that the French Revolution had not, at this time, put on its worst aspect. The great change which had taken place, promised to regenerate France, and to renovate civil society; and Sir James Mackintosh, like his master Fox, in his exultation at the dawn of so bright a prospect, could not foresee that it would terminate in bloodshed and tyranny.

Both works are written in a style too ornate and artificial. The rich and fertile genius of Burke, and his vast and multifarious stores of learning, crowded his pages with illustrations from all sources—from history, philosophy, and poetry—and he was not over-solicitous as to their being apposite and correct. On the other hand, Sir James Mackintosh, fresh from his books and burning with zeal, was also ambitious of display, and chastity and purity of diction were

neglected by both. Such a contest, however—so splendid a specimen of the literary *duello*, on so magnificent an arena, may not again occur for a considerable length of time. The defence of Peltier is also a masterly performance; but the dissertation in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and his life of Sir Thomas More, in Dr Lardner's *Cyclopædia*, are perhaps the most finished of the acknowledged productions of Sir James Mackintosh. The two volumes of his abridged History of England, serve rather to show the views he took of certain points of English history, and the philosophy he was able to bring to the task, with his habitual carelessness in minor details, than his talent at composing a connected, consecutive work. These two little volumes,¹ however, contain some striking passages and disquisitions. But in the opinion of Mr Campbell, who knew Sir James Mackintosh intimately, they were merely the expansion of the prefatory matter which he intended for a great historical work on the affairs of England since the Revolution, and which he had contemplated for several years, and in part written, but was too much impeded in his progress, both by his parliamentary duties and the infirm state of his health, to bring to a conclusion. His labours were, nevertheless, given to the world in 1834, as a History of the British Revolution. It was the opinion of Sir James that history ought to be written with feeling, but without passion; and to this excellent dogma he has himself rigidly adhered. He also contributed various articles to the *Edinburgh Review* in its earlier days. These are of such superior excellence, and so various—ranging over almost every department of literature—that it is much to be wished that the best of them were collected and published in a separate form. Lord Byron greatly admired them, and in his letters and journals, has expressed this admiration in the strongest terms.

After what has been said of Sir James Mackintosh's public life and character, it is almost unnecessary to add, that in private life, he displayed all the domestic virtues, and all the better qualities of human nature. He was mild, benevolent, generous, humane, and unaffected. Ready at all times to succour the unfortunate and the distressed, he bestowed on all who sought it, that assistance which their circumstances required; whether it was his time, his purse, or his advice; and to all three, if desired, the applicant was welcome. The most pleasing characteristic of Hume—that almost infantine simplicity which his friends remarked in his intercourse with them—mingled also in the character of Mackintosh, contrasting finely with its nobler parts. His conversational powers were of the very first order, and never failed to delight all who had the good fortune to enjoy his society. His person was well formed, and above the middle stature. His countenance was intelligent, and exhibited a pleasing compound of grave and gay expression, indicative of a readiness to sympathize with either of these feelings, as chance might direct their appeals to him.

Sir James was in an indifferent state of health for some time previous to his death, but that melancholy event was finally brought on by an accident. While at dinner, about the beginning of March, 1832, a portion of the breast of a fowl, with a fragment of bone in it, which he had attempted to swallow, stuck in his throat, and, though afterwards extracted without producing any immediate serious consequences, the accident completely unsettled his general health. His debility from that hour daily increased, till the 30th of May, when he died in the sixty-sixth year of his age, at his house in Langham Place, having anticipated and met the hour of his dissolution with a firmness and resignation worthy of his past life. He was buried at Hampstead.

Sir James Mackintosh was twice married; first in 1789, to Miss Catherine

¹ The greater part of a third volume was written by Sir James: he breaks off at the era of the Bartholomew massacre.

Stewart of Gerrard Street, Soho, sister to the Messieurs Stewart, formerly proprietors of the "Morning Post," by whom he had issue a son, who died in infancy, and three daughters—viz., Mary, married to Claudius James Rich, Esq., of Bombay—Maitland, married to W. Erskine, Esq.—and Catherine, married to Sir W. Wiseman, Bart. Mrs Mackintosh died in 1797.—He was afterwards married to Catharine, daughter of J. B. Allen, Esq. of Cressella, in Pembrokeshire. By this lady, who died at Chesne, near Genoa, on the 6th May, 1830, he had one son and a daughter; viz., Robert Mackintosh, Esq., B.A., fellow of New College, Oxford; and Frances, married to H. Wedgewood, Esq., Staffordshire.

MACKNIGHT, (Dr) JAMES, a learned scriptural commentator, was born on the 17th of September, 1721. His father, Mr William Macknight, minister at Irvine, was a native of Ireland, where his ancestors, descended from the family of M'Naughtane, in the Highlands of Scotland, had resided for more than a century. Mr William Macknight early displayed very popular talents as a preacher; and having, it is said, accidentally officiated in the church of Irvine, sometime after the death of the former incumbent, he gave so much satisfaction to the hearers, that, in consequence of a general wish expressed by the parishioners to the patron, he was soon appointed to supply the vacant charge. In this situation he continued during life, universally esteemed for genuine piety, purity of morals, and integrity of character.

Mr James Macknight, the subject of this memoir, received the rudiments of education at the school of Irvine; and about the age of fourteen, was sent to the university of Glasgow, where he studied with great approbation from his teachers, on account of his diligence and proficiency. The notes he then took from the lectures on logic and moral philosophy, before he was sixteen, still remain among his papers, and afford remarkable indications of the same acuteness and soundness of judgment, which afterwards characterized his theological writings.

Having completed the usual course of academical discipline at Glasgow, Mr Macknight went to Leyden, in order to prosecute the study of theology, to which he had shown an early attachment. While he remained in Holland, he had an opportunity of procuring many valuable books, written by foreign divines, which afterwards assisted his own labours in explaining Scripture. After his return to Scotland, having received from the presbytery of Irvine a license to preach the gospel, he was chosen to officiate at the Gorbals, near Glasgow; a situation which at that time could be held by a licentiate of the church, before being ordained to the pastoral function. On this occasion, one of the candidates was Mr Robert Henry, afterwards the well known historian of Great Britain. It chanced that the gentlemen who were thus placed in competition with each other at the commencement of life, were at last, after an interval of many years, associated as colleagues in the charge of the Old Church parish of Edinburgh.

From the Gorbals, Mr Macknight went to Kilwinning, in consequence of an invitation from Mr Fergusson, then minister of that place; and acted for some time as his assistant in the charge of the parish. Here he conducted himself with such propriety, that his character began to be established; and on the death of Mr Fisher, at Maybole, he obtained the vacant living there, with the concurring wish of the heritors and people. Of this charge, accordingly, he was ordained as minister, on the 10th of May, 1753. At Maybole, Mr Macknight continued sixteen years; and discharged the duties of the pastoral office with such assiduity and kindness, that, when he left it, he carried with him the affections and regret of all his flock. It may be mentioned, as a pleasing evidence of attachment, that when he proposed accepting a presentation to the living of Jedburgh, many respectable inhabitants of the parish of Maybole, joined toge-

ther in earnestly soliciting him to remain as their pastor; and in order to obtain his compliance with this request, they offered, not only to augment the value of his income, but to provide him an assistant, should the state of his health render it necessary. This generous proposal, however, he judged it proper from prudential considerations, to decline.

It was at Maybole, that, amidst his professional occupations in a populous charge, Dr Macknight composed the first and second of his works. Of the former, indeed, or the Harmony of the Gospels, it appears from his papers, that the plan had been conceived by him so early as the third or fourth year of his attendance at the university; and from that time he began to collect materials for the publication. The first edition of this book was published in 1756. Although the plan of it differed considerably from that of former Harmonies, in supposing that the Evangelists have not neglected the order of time in the narration of events, the reception it met with from most competent judges was so favourable, that the author was encouraged to undertake a second edition, with considerable improvements and additions. This edition appeared in 1763. In the same year, was also published by Dr Macknight, another performance of great merit, entitled the Truth of the Gospel History, which had been the fruit of the author's studies during the interval between the first and second editions of his Harmony. Its object is, to illustrate and confirm, both by argument and by appeal to the testimony of ancient authors, what are commonly arranged under the three great titles of the Internal, the Collateral, and the Direct Evidences of the Gospel History.

By these publications, Dr Macknight soon obtained a high reputation for theological learning. The university of Edinburgh conferred on him (among the first who obtained that distinction in Scotland) the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and he was, in 1769, chosen moderator of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland. During the course of the same year, he was translated to the parochial charge of Jedburgh; in which he remained about three years, and where he received from his people the most flattering tokens of respect and kindness. In 1772, he was elected one of the ministers of Edinburgh; a preferment for which he was chiefly indebted to the long-continued and steady friendship of the very respectable and highly esteemed family of Kilkerran. His first charge in Edinburgh was the parish of Lady Yester's; from which he was translated, in 1778, to the Old Church, where he continued during the remainder of his life.

Besides performing the ordinary duties of the pastoral function, a minister of Edinburgh, in virtue of his office, is much occupied with public meetings on business of various kinds, especially the management of the different charitable foundations, which have long been the boast of the capital of Scotland. On these, accordingly, Dr Macknight, though he entertained some doubts respecting the good effects of such institutions, bestowed much of his attention; and his judicious counsels of management, were undoubtedly productive, at that time, of considerable benefit, in maintaining the strictness of their discipline, as well as the purity of their administration. Among other objects of such official care, is the fund established by act of parliament for a provision to the widows and children of ministers in the church of Scotland. As one of the trustees appointed by the act, he had long taken a leading part in conducting the business of this Charity; and after the death of Dr Webster, he was appointed joint collector with Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart.

In the church courts he acted steadily on that system of ecclesiastical policy, which, for many years past, has guided the decisions of the General Assembly. At the same time, he firmly resisted whatever appeared to him as any infringement on the constitutional law or practice of the church; and, accordingly,

when some of his friends seemed to wish for the abolition of Calls, as an unnecessary form in the settlement of ministers, he moved and carried a resolution of the Assembly of 1782, (relative to certain overtures on the subject, then under the discussion of the house,) "declaring, that the moderation of a Call in settling ministers, is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of this church, and that it ought to be continued:" a resolution which was afterwards converted into a declaratory act, and printed as such in the proceedings of the Assembly for that year.

But what chiefly engaged his mind, and occupied his time, after he became a minister of Edinburgh, was the execution of his last and greatest work on the Apostolical Epistles; which was published in 1795, in four volumes quarto. Respecting this work, it is perhaps not unworthy of being told, that it was the result of the unremitting labour of almost thirty years; that, notwithstanding his numerous professional avocations, the author, while composing it, was seldom less than eleven hours every day employed in study; and that before it came to the press, the whole manuscript had been written no less than five times with his own hand.—At the time of publishing "The New Translation of the Apostolical Epistles, with a Commentary and Notes," Dr Macknight was highly indebted to the patronage of the duke of Grafton; and after the work made its appearance, he received the most honourable testimonies of approbation from many of the bishops and respectable dignitaries of the church of England, as well as from the ablest divines of all descriptions.

After the publication of this work, Dr Macknight considered himself as having accomplished the greatest object of his life; and, wishing to enjoy at the end of his days, some relief from the labour of study, he resisted the repeated solicitations of his friends, who earnestly urged him to undertake the illustration of the Book of the Acts, on the same plan which he had so successfully followed in explaining other parts of the New Testament.—But soon after this period, from the want of their usual exercise, a sensible decline of his faculties, particularly a failure of his memory, was observed by his family. This fact is a striking instance of the analogy between the powers of the body and those of the mind, both of which suffer by inaction; and it furnishes a useful caution to those who have been long habituated to any regular exertion of mind, against at once desisting entirely from its usual efforts; since the effect, in the course of nature, is not only to create languor, but to hasten the progress of debility and failure.

As yet, however, (1796,) Dr Macknight's bodily vigour seemed to be but little impaired. In early life, he was afflicted with frequent headaches; but after he had reached the age of thirty, they seldom returned: and he afforded a singular instance of a sedentary life long continued, with hardly any of those complaints which it usually induces. This uninterrupted enjoyment of health he owed, under Providence, to a naturally robust make, and a constitution of body uncommonly sound and vigorous, along with regular habits of temperance, and of taking exercise, which he did by walking nearly three hours every day.

Having finished the task he had prescribed to himself as an author, he mingled frequently in the society of his friends, from which, at intervals, he had always received much enjoyment; and long retained the same cheerfulness of temper, for which at the hours of relaxation from severe study, he had been remarkable, when in the company of those whom he esteemed. Even after the symptoms of his decline were become visible, (1798,) his natural sagacity and strength of judgment, as well as his extensive and familiar knowledge of the Scriptures, were still to be discerned in his conversation and public appearances. And so habitual was his anxiety to discharge his duty, that he insisted on officiating for a considerable time after his friends had wished him to with-

draw from public labour. It was not, indeed, without much entreaty, that he at last consented to accept the services of an assistant.

The disease which terminated his life was the peripneumonia notha, occasioned by an incautious exposure to the severity of the weather, about the end of December, 1799. This distemper, in its progress and issue, resisted the ablest and most assiduous efforts of medical skill.—During his illness, his mind was composed, tranquil, and resigned; he never complained; and on the morning of the 13th of January, 1800, he expired without a struggle. As in the course of the preceding night he slept but little, the time was employed in hearing passages from the Psalms and Evangelists, which by his own desire were read to him by one of his family.—Thus, having spent his life in illustrating Scripture, and exerted the last efforts of his attention in listening with delight to its precious words, he may be truly said to have slept in Jesus.

As a clergyman, the sentiments and conduct of Dr Macknight were equally characterized by consistency and propriety. In the discharge of every public and private duty of religion, with a constant reliance on divine aid, he was regular and steady. He knew and felt what became the sacred office which he held; and never departed, on any occasion, from the dignity or decorum of his professional character. Having given himself wholly to the meditation of divine things, he continued in them: in the work of his Master he was steadfast and faithful to the end.—His piety was at once sincere, rational, and without ostentation. To be useful in the cause of truth and virtue, was his highest ambition; and with all the means of attaining this end which the resources of a well-informed and liberal mind could supply, he united a zeal for the interests of Christianity, which terminated only with his life.

When engaged, either in private controversy or in the public debates of the church courts, he was always remarkable for speaking strictly to the point at issue. He was likewise distinguished by coolness, discretion, and command of temper; he listened with patience to the arguments of his opponents; and in delivering his opinions, he showed himself uniformly open, candid, and explicit. At the same time, his talent was rather that of business than of address; he appeared to be better fitted for deciding on the merits of a question in debate, than for soothing the passions, or managing the humours of mankind,—a qualification rarely possessed but by minds of a superior order.

On various subjects, besides those embraced by his profession, his range of knowledge was ample and profound. He perused the writers of antiquity with critical skill; and of his acquaintance with the Greek language, especially the original of the New Testament, his observations on the force of the particles, in his Commentary, are a sufficient proof. In the speculations, also, of metaphysical, moral, and mathematical science, he was a considerable proficient. The fact is, his powers were such as might have been turned with advantage to any department of knowledge or learning.

It may further be noticed, that in conducting the ordinary affairs of life, he displayed uncommon prudence and sagacity. He was one of those who are generally attentive to small concerns, but on proper occasions show themselves liberal to a high degree. Of this, different instances occurred in the course of his transactions with his friends; and he was enabled to act on such a principle of generosity, by his usual habits of economy and prudence.—Dr Macknight's external appearance was sufficiently expressive of his character. His countenance was manly and commanding, and his gait remarkably erect and firm.

Dr Macknight's "Harmony of the Gospels" has long been esteemed a work of standard excellence for the students of evangelical knowledge. His "Truth of the

Gospel History" has hitherto attracted the notice of the public less than any of his other productions ; but it well deserves to be more generally read ; since of what it proposes to establish, it contains the most satisfying views that can be suggested by learning, acuteness, and good sense, and is admitted by the best judges to be a performance as useful and instructive as any we have on that important subject. It is, in fact, a kind of storehouse, from which subsequent writers on the same subject, have borrowed largely in point of argument and illustration.

The " Commentary on the Apostolical Epistles " is now held in peculiar estimation ; and it may be doubted whether the scope of the sacred authors of these writings was ever, in any former age of Christianity, so fully, clearly, and happily stated, as has been done by Mr Macknight, in the general views and illustrations which he has prefixed to the several chapters of the Epistles.

The Life of the Apostle Paul, which concludes the fourth volume of " The Translation and Commentary," is an excellent compendium of the apostolical history, and may be considered as the author's view and illustration of the Acts of the Apostles—the only part of the New Testament writings (besides the Revelation of St John) to which the labours of Dr Macknight, as a commentator, were not directed.—In all his writings, his style, though unambitious of elegance or ornament, is perspicuous, and appropriate to the subject.

All Dr Macknight's works were originally printed in quarto. Of the " Harmony" and the " Epistles" many editions have since been published in octavo. To show the respect which has been paid in England to his various works, the following passage from the " Library Companion" of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, may be quoted. After recommending to the young theologian the works of Lardner, Doddridge, and Watts, Mr Dibdin says, " Nor let the name of Macknight be forgotten. His works, indeed, are the more exclusive property of the *disciplined theological* student ; but the *general* reader will do well to secure his inviting quartos upon the *Gospels* and *Epistles* of the New Testament. In these he will find learning without pedantry, and piety without enthusiasm. In short, no theological collection can be perfect without them. If any man may be said to have exhausted his subject, it is Macknight."

Soon after the time of his being ordained, Dr Macknight married Elizabeth M'Cormick, eldest daughter of Samuel M'Cormick, Esq., general examiner of the excise in Scotland. Of his family, the only one remaining is a clergyman of the church of Scotland.

MACLAURIN, COLIN, an eminent mathematician and philosopher, was descended from an ancient and respectable family, which had long been in possession of the island of Tiree, a solitary but comparatively fertile member of the Hebridean range. His grandfather, Daniel M'Laurin, removed thence to Inverary, and contributed greatly to restore that town, which was nearly ruined in the civil wars. He wrote some memoirs of his own times, and appears to have been a man of superior abilities. John, the son of Daniel, and father of Colin, was minister of the parish of Glenderule, where he was greatly beloved as a faithful and diligent pastor ; he completed a version of the Psalms into *Irish*, which was generally used in those parts of the country where divine service is performed in that language. He married a lady of the name of Cameron, by whom he had three sons. John, the eldest, was for many years one of the ministers of the city of Glasgow, and well known as the author of several essays and sermons ; he was also one of the most popular preachers of his day. Daniel, the second son, died at an early age, after having given proofs of surprising genius ; and Colin, born at Kilmoddan, in the month of February, 1698. His father died six weeks after ; but the loss to the family was not so severely felt

as it otherwise might have been, on account of the kind advice and benevolent attention of a worthy uncle, the reverend Daniel Maclaurin, minister of Kilfinnan, and the careful economy and exemplary virtues of their mother. After remaining in Argyleshire for some time, on a small patrimonial estate, which was divided between Mrs Maclaurin and her sisters, she removed to Dumbarton, for the more convenient education of her children; but dying in 1707, the entire charge of the orphans devolved upon their uncle. Colin, at this time, was nine years old; and, although of a delicate constitution, he was remarkable for the quickness of his apprehension, and the retentiveness of his memory; he was passionately fond of learning, and pursued his studies with so much zeal and satisfaction, as to be fully qualified to enter the university of Glasgow, in two years after his mother's death. He was accordingly placed there under the direction of Mr Carmichael, an admirable public teacher, who took the greatest pains in superintending his education, and for whom Mr Maclaurin, ever after in life, evinced the warmest feelings of gratitude and respect. His proficiency in every branch of elementary learning was so rapid, and his application to study so intense, that his teachers were astonished at the ease and quickness with which he distanced, not only those who were commencing the same class with himself, but those who had the advantage of attending for many sessions before him. His youthful imagination entered with great delight into the beauties of the writings of the ancients, and a taste for classical learning never forsook him during the whole course of his life, notwithstanding the predominant bent of his wonderful genius for the cultivation and improvement of mathematical science. From the time he entered college, he kept a diary, in which he carefully noted down the beginning and success of every particular study, inquiry, or investigation, his conversations with learned men, the subjects of those, and the arguments on either side. This was found among his oldest manuscripts, and in it might be read the names of the celebrated Mr Robert Simpson, Dr Johnson, and several other gentlemen of learning and worth, who all seemed anxious who should most encourage our young philosopher, by opening to him their libraries, and admitting him into their most intimate society and friendship. His genius for mathematical learning discovered itself so early as twelve years of age, when, having accidentally met with a copy of Euclid, in a friend's chamber, he became master, in a few days, of the first six books, without any assistance; and having accomplished this extraordinary enterprise, his predilection for the science of quantity was determined for life. He now made an extraordinary progress, as we very soon after find him engaged in solving the most curious and difficult problems.

At fifteen years of age, Mr Maclaurin took his degree of master of arts, having passed through the *curriculum*, or public course of lectures appointed by the university, which must be attended before this honour can be gained. The subject he selected for his *thesis*, was, the "Power of Gravity," and this, according to the custom of the times, it was necessary for him to defend publicly. It may be necessary to observe, for the information of those who are acquainted with the manner in which such disputations were conducted in Scotland, that the candidate was left free to select for this ordeal any literary or scientific subject he thought proper. The depth and boldness of the topic proposed by young Maclaurin at once revealed what kind of studies had engaged his attention while at the university, and excited the wonder and admiration of all present. In most instances, the subjects of disputation were of a trifling kind, and adapted chiefly to afford the candidate an opportunity of displaying his ingenuity and acquaintance with the mood and figure of the school of logic. But the mind of our youthful philosopher disdained to stoop to any thing puerile or com-

mon-place, and the sublimity of his subject showed at once the nature of his studies and the depth of his erudition. At that time the philosophy of Newton was comparatively unknown, and even men the most distinguished in science were slow to comprehend the great and important truths it contained. None but those profoundly skilled in geometry could fully comprehend his doctrines, and that of itself excluded many from the study; whilst others were bound in the trammels of the scholastic jargon of Aristotle, or the imaginary vortices of Des Cartes. When, therefore, young Maclaurin chose the "Power of Gravity" as the subject of his thesis, it was a presupposition that he was fully acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of Newton's discoveries, and upon this occasion he acquitted himself to the wonder and delight of his auditors. He afterwards illustrated the same subject in a most beautiful manner, in the last two books of his account of the philosophical discoveries of Sir Isaac. There is only one instance more, in the whole range of literature, that we are acquainted with, of such extraordinary and precocious talent where a predisposition for mathematical science was any thing like so strong, and that is in the person of Pascal, whom Bayle calls the divine—nearly at the same age, though not exceeding that of our youthful philosopher. He, too, by the force of his irresistible genius, in secret and by stealth, may be said to have invented a system of geometrical science, which, to keep him in ignorance of, his father had sacrificed both fame and fortune. It might be invidious to compare the philosophic acquirements of these great men in after life, further than their mutual fondness for classic literature, in which they both proved themselves elegant writers. They had both a strong sense of religion on their minds, and to those who have perused their works, their most anxious desire must appear to have been to apply the theoretical propositions which were known, or they themselves had demonstrated, so as to promote the real benefit of mankind.

Maclaurin having made such an extraordinary progress in the study of geometry, and having, with little trouble, conquered difficulties which, in general, are looked upon as so formidable, passed at once to the higher branches of that science, and, instead of being deterred from exertion by the intricacy of the demonstrations which necessarily met him at every step as he proceeded in the investigation of difficult propositions, his energies seemed to acquire new life and vigour to enable him to surmount every obstacle in his way. Nothing delighted him more than to be engaged in difficult and curious problems, and this much is certain, that in his sixteenth year he had already invented many of the finest propositions afterwards published under the title of *Geometria Organica*.

At the beginning of the session in 1714, immediately subsequent to taking his degree, he entered himself as a student of divinity, but he only attended the college for one year longer, when, becoming disgusted at the dissensions that at that time had crept into the church, he relinquished all ideas of becoming a clergyman, and, happily for science, determined to devote himself to the study of mathematics and philosophy. He quitted the university and retired to his uncle's house, at Kilfinnan, in a sequestered part of the country. That good man having, at all times, acted as a father to him, he determined to wait with patience until some secular employment should occur. In this happy seclusion, he continued his favourite researches, still cultivating his mind by a perusal of the best classic authors, for which he had naturally the most refined taste. The sublime scenery amidst which he lived, would, at proper intervals, invite him to wander through the lofty mountains and lonely glens, to consider the numberless natural curiosities with which they abound; and here his fancy being warmed by the grand scenes which presented themselves, he would sometimes break

out in an ode, or hymn, on the beauties of nature, and the perfection of its Author. Of these, some fragments were preserved by his friends, and although we know not if they were ever published, still they must have possessed considerable interest, as serving to develope the openings and improvements of a mind like that of Maclaurin.

When Mr Maclaurin was only nineteen years old, in the autumn of 1717, a vacancy occurred in the professorship of mathematics in the Marischal college of Aberdeen. For this he presented himself as a candidate, and carried along with him the most ample testimonials from his friends at Glasgow, where he had distinguished himself so eminently. A very able competitor appeared in the field against him, but after a competition, or comparative trial of excellence, which lasted for ten days, Mr Maclaurin was declared the successful candidate. Being now fixed in his chair, he quickly revived the taste for mathematical learning, and raised it higher than it had ever been in that university. He continued at Aberdeen discharging the duties of his office, and had the happiness to perceive his usefulness increasing, and his popularity as a public professor greatly extended. In the vacations of 1717 and 1719, he went to London, with the view of extending his information, and of being introduced to the illustrious men there. As mathematical knowledge was never in so great request, nor its professors so much honoured at any period in the history of Britain, his fame had already gone before him; but, independent of that, he was furnished with letters of introduction from professor Simpson and Dr Clark, to the first philosophers of that or any other age. It was this first journey to London that laid the foundation to his subsequent fortunes in life. Besides Dr Hoadly, then bishop of Bangor, Dr Samuel Clark, and several other eminent men, he became acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton, who not only patronized him as a young man of genius, and possessed of a singular turn of mind for mathematical investigation, but seems to have formed for him a stronger degree of attachment than he was ever known to exhibit towards any one of the numerous candidates for his patronage. This kind preference, Mr Maclaurin ever after considered the greatest honour and happiness of his life. Long before he meditated his journey to London, he was an enthusiastic admirer of the philosophy of Newton, and of the almost superhuman genius of its inventor. To him he therefore submitted his treatise on the "Power of Gravity," which he brought with him, in manuscript, to London, and, on its receiving the sanction of him who had done more to extend the boundaries of mathematical science than almost all mankind, Mr Maclaurin's triumph was complete. He was admitted a member of the Royal Society when only twenty-one years of age, and two of his papers were, about the same time, inserted in the transactions of that learned body, and his book, entitled *Geometria Organica*, was published with the approbation of their president. In his second journey, he became acquainted with Martin Folks, Esq., who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as president of the Royal Society, and with whom he thenceforth cultivated a most entire and unreserved friendship. This great patron of scientific men frequently corresponded with him, communicating to him all his views and improvements in the sciences, and encouraging him to proceed in his philosophical studies.

In 1722, lord Polwarth, ambassador from the court of St James's to the congress of Cambray, had been for some time looking out for a proper person to accompany his son, Mr Hume, on his travels. His lordship was fond of literature and the company of literary men; he had frequent opportunities of observing Mr Maclaurin's behaviour, who at this time, from his consummate abilities, was admitted into the highest circles of society in London. His lordship being deeply prepossessed in favour of our youthful philosopher, engaged

him as companion and tutor to his son. Maclaurin having procured a proper person to fill his place for a time at the college of Aberdeen, and feeling a strong desire to gratify his curiosity by visiting foreign countries, he accordingly with his friend and scholar set out for France, and proceeded at once to the capital, where they took up their abode. After remaining a short time at Paris, they visited several of the chief towns in France, and finally fixed upon Lorraine for their residence. Here they had the advantage of a good academy, besides the introduction to one of the most polite courts in Europe. Mr Maclaurin had now an opportunity of improving that easy and genteel address which was at all times natural to him, and with his graceful person and great erudition, he excited the admiration, and gained the esteem of the most distinguished persons of both sexes. Here he wrote his essay on the percussion of bodies, which gained the prize of the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1724. The substance of this tract is inserted in his Treatise of Fluxions.

On leaving Lorraine with his pupil on a tour through the southern provinces of France, and arriving at Montpellier, Mr Hume was seized with a fever which quickly terminated his life. This dreadful calamity affected Mr Maclaurin in the deepest manner and overwhelmed him with grief. In some letters written on that melancholy occasion, he seemed almost inconsolable for the loss of his pupil, companion, and friend, and his sympathy with a family to which he owed great obligations, and which had suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this hopeful young nobleman, rendered him unhappy beyond expression. Travelling and all other things being now distasteful, he set out immediately on his return to his profession at Aberdeen.

Having by this time justly earned the distinction of one of the first men of his country, the curators of the university of Edinburgh were desirous of engaging him to supply the place of Mr James Gregory, whose age and infirmities had rendered him incapable of teaching; but several difficulties retarded the design for some time. A gentleman eminent for mathematical abilities, but whose name is now forgotten, had succeeded in gaining over some of the patrons, who promised him their interest for the appointment, until a commendatory letter from Sir Isaac Newton completely turned the balance in Mr Maclaurin's favour. Sir Isaac first addressed Mr Maclaurin, with allowance to show it to the patrons of the university, and expresses himself as follows:—"I am very glad to hear that you have a prospect of being joined to Mr James Gregory in the professorship of mathematics at Edinburgh, not only because you are my friend, but principally because of your abilities, you being acquainted as well with the new improvements of mathematics as with the former state of those sciences; I heartily wish you good success, and shall be very glad of hearing of your being elected; I am, with all sincerity, your faithful friend, and most humble servant." In a second letter to the lord provost of Edinburgh, which Mr Maclaurin knew nothing of till some years after Sir Isaac's death, he thus writes: "I am glad to understand that Mr Maclaurin is in good repute amongst you for his skill in mathematics, for I think he deserves it very well, and to satisfy you that I do not flatter him, and also to encourage him to accept the place of assisting Mr Gregory, in order to succeed him, I am ready (if you please to give me leave,) to contribute twenty pounds per annum towards a provision for him till Mr Gregory's place becomes void, if I live so long, and I will pay it to his order in London." The town council, however, with becoming pride, respectfully declined this generous offer, and the business was finally arranged that Mr Gregory was to retain his salary during life; his family in case of their father's death were secured in it for seven years from the date of Mr Maclaurin's being inducted as joint professor, who was promised fifty

pounds per annum, besides the fees he received from the students attending the class, upon condition of performing all the duties of the office. On the 3d November, 1725, he was introduced to the university, as was at the same time his learned colleague and intimate friend, Dr Alexander Monro, professor of anatomy. The subjects which Mr Maclaurin introduced into the different courses of lectures on mathematics were very miscellaneous, and the classes soon became unusually numerous, there being upwards of a hundred young gentlemen attending his lectures, who being of different standings and proficiency, he was obliged to divide them into four or five classes, in each of which he employed a full hour every day, from the 1st of November to the 1st of June. In the first or lowest class, (sometimes divided into two,) he taught the first six books of Euclid's Elements, plain trigonometry, practical geometry, the elements of fortification, and an introduction to Algebra. The second class repeated the Algebra again from its principles, and advanced farther in it, then proceeded to the theory of mensuration of solids, spherical trigonometry, the doctrine of the Sphere, dialling, and other practical parts. After this he gave the doctrine of the conic sections, with the theory of gunnery, and concluded with the elements of astronomy and optics. In the third class he went on in astronomy and perspective, prelected on Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, and explained the direct and inverse method of fluxions. At a separate hour he began a class of experimental philosophy about the middle of December, which continued thrice every week till the beginning of April, and at proper hours of the night described the constellations and showed the planets by telescopes of various kinds. All Mr Maclaurin's lectures on these different subjects were given with such perspicuity of method and language, that his demonstrations seldom stood in need of being repeated. Such, however, was his anxiety for the improvement of his scholars, that if at any time he found they could not comprehend his meaning, or if upon examining them he found they could not readily demonstrate the propositions which he had proved, he was apt rather to suspect that his own expressions had been obscure than their want of genius or attention. He, therefore, would resume the demonstration in some other method, in order to try, if, by expressing it in a different light, he could give them a better view of it. Besides the labours of his public profession, he had frequently many other employments and avocations. If an uncommon experiment was said to have been made any where, the curious were desirous of having it repeated by Mr Maclaurin. On all momentous occasions he was the first to be applied to; and if an eclipse or comet was to be observed, his telescopes were always in readiness. Such was the elegance and amenity of his manners, that the ladies took the liveliest interest in his experiments and observations, and were delighted and surprised at finding how easily and familiarly he would resolve the questions they put to him; and to those gentlemen who had been his pupils his advice and assistance were never wanting; nor was admittance refused to any except in his teaching hours, which were devoted to that purpose alone. The ingenious of all ranks courted his acquaintance and friendship, and so anxious and pressing were they to enjoy the pleasure of his company and conversation after his usual avocations were over, that he was obliged to take from the ordinary hours of repose what he bestowed on his scholars and friends, and by persevering in deep and severe study, he exhausted his strength and greatly impaired his health. About this time, at the beginning of the year 1728, Sir Isaac Newton died, and his nephew, Mr Conduitt, proposed to publish an account of his life, for which purpose he applied to Mr Maclaurin for his assistance, who out of gratitude to his great benefactor readily undertook the task, and finished the history of the progress which philosophy had made before Sir

Isaac's time. When the first draught of that work was sent up to London it was shown to some eminent judges, and met with their highest approbation. Among the rest Dr Rundle, afterwards bishop of Derry, was so pleased with the design that he mentioned it as particularly worthy of the Queen's notice, who, after attentively perusing it, was so highly gratified that she expressed a desire to see it published; but Mr Conduitt's death having prevented the execution of his part of the proposed work, Mr Maclaurin's manuscript was returned to him. To this he afterwards added the more recent proofs and examples given by himself and others on the subjects treated by Sir Isaac, and left it in the state in which it now appears. Mr Maclaurin continued to live single till the year 1733, when, having a mind equally formed for the social endearments of refined society as those of the profoundest philosophy, he married Anne, daughter of Mr Walter Stewart, solicitor-general for Scotland to George the first, by whom he had seven children.

Dr Buckley, bishop of Cloyne, having taken occasion, from some disputes that had arisen concerning the grounds of the fluxionary method, in a treatise, entitled the *Analyst*, published in 1734, to explode the method itself, and at the same time to charge mathematicians in general with infidelity in religion. Mr Maclaurin entered the lists of disputation with him, eager to defend his favourite study and repel an accusation in which he was most unjustly included. He commenced his reply to the bishop's book; but as he entered more deeply into the subject, so many discoveries, so many new theories and problems occurred to him, that, instead of a vindictory pamphlet, his work, when finished, presented a complete system of fluxions, with their application to the most considerable problems in geometry and natural philosophy. This work was published in Edinburgh in 1742, in two volumes quarto, in which we are at a loss what most to admire—his solid, unexceptionable demonstrations of the grounds of the method itself, or its application to such a variety of curious and useful problems. A society had for many years subsisted in Edinburgh, for the advancement of medical knowledge; Mr Maclaurin, on reviewing their plan of proceedings, and not thinking it sufficiently extensive, proposed to take in all parts of physics, together with the antiquities of the country. This was readily agreed to, and Mr Maclaurin's influence engaged several noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank and character, to join themselves for that purpose to the members of the former society. The earl of Morton did them the honour to accept of the office of president. Dr Plummer, professor of chemistry, and Mr Maclaurin, were appointed secretaries; and several gentlemen of distinction, English and foreigners, desired to be admitted members. At the monthly meetings of the society, Mr Maclaurin generally read some treatise of his own, or communicated the contents of his letters from foreign parts; by which means the society were informed of every new discovery or improvement in the sciences. Several of the papers read before this society, are printed in the 5th and 6th volumes of the *Medical Essays*; some of them are also published in the *Philosophical Transactions*; and Mr Maclaurin had occasion to insert a great many more in his *Treatise of Fluxions*, and in his account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy. He was the first who proposed the building of an astronomical observatory, and a convenient school for experiments, in the university of Edinburgh, of which he drew an elegant and well contrived plan; and, as this work was to be carried on by private subscription, he used all his influence to raise money for that purpose with so much success, that, had not the Rebellion intervened in Scotland, the work would have been speedily completed. The earl of Morton, on visiting his estates in *Orkney* and *Shetland* in 1739, wanted at the same time to settle the geography of these islands, which was very er-

roneously laid down on all our maps, to examine their natural history, to survey the coasts, and take the measure of a degree of the meridian,—and for this purpose he applied to Mr Maclaurin for his assistance; but his domestic affairs not permitting him to undertake the journey, he drew up a plan of what he thought necessary to be observed, furnished the proper instruments, and recommended Mr Short, the celebrated optician, as a fit operator for managing them. The accounts Mr Maclaurin afterwards received of this voyage, made him still more sensible of the erroneous geography we had of those parts, by which so many shipwrecks had been occasioned, and he therefore employed several of his scholars, who were then settled in the northern counties, to survey the coasts.

Mr Maclaurin had still more extensive views for the improvement of geography and navigation over all the surface of the globe. After carefully perusing all the accounts of voyages, both in the South and North Seas, he was of opinion that the sea was most probably to be found open from Greenland to the South Sea, by the North Pole; and, when schemes for finding out such a passage were submitted to parliament in 1744, he was consulted concerning them by several persons of high rank and influence; but before he could finish the memorials which he proposed to have sent, the premium was limited to the discovery of a north-west passage, and Mr Maclaurin used to regret that the word *west* was inserted, because he thought a passage, if at all to be found, must lie not far from the pole. Of this he appeared to be so deeply persuaded, that he has been heard to say, if his situation could admit of such adventures, he would gladly undertake the voyage, even at his own cost.

Such was the zeal this amiable and celebrated man evinced on every occasion for the public good: the last and most remarkable instance, is that which we shall now relate.

In 1745, when the Highland army had got between Edinburgh and the king's troops, Mr Maclaurin was the first to rouse the friends of the existing government from the security in which they had hitherto continued; and though he was aware that the city was not long defensible, or able to resist even the undisciplined and ill-armed host that was advancing to attack it, yet as he foresaw how much might be gained by the insurgents' possessing themselves of the capital, and the king's forces, under Sir John Cope, being daily expected, he made plans of the walls, proposed the several trenches, barricades, batteries, and all such defences as he thought could be thrown up before the arrival of the enemy, earnestly hoping that the town might thus hold out till relieved. The whole burden, not only of contriving, but also of overseeing the execution of this hasty defence, fell to Mr Maclaurin's share. He was indefatigable in his exertions, employed both night and day in drawing plans, and running from place to place; so that the anxiety, fatigue, and cold to which he was thus exposed, affecting a constitution naturally weak, laid the foundation of the disease of which he died. It is not properly connected with our subject to inquire how Mr Maclaurin's plans were neglected or defeated, or by what means prince Charles got possession of Edinburgh; but, after defeating the king's troops at Prestonpans, he found himself in such strength as to issue several very arbitrary orders, among which was one commanding all who had been volunteers in the defence of the city, before a stated time, to wait on his secretary, to subscribe a recantation of what they had done, and a promise of submission to the new government, under the pain of being deemed and treated as rebels. Mr Maclaurin had acted too conspicuous a part as a volunteer, to hope to escape their vengeance, if he once fell into their hands; he therefore privately withdrew into England, before the last day of receiving the submissions, but not before he

contrived means to convey a good telescope into the castle, and to supply the garrison with provisions.

Dr Thomas Herring, then archbishop of York, hearing that Mr Maclaurin had taken refuge in the north of England, invited him in the most friendly manner to reside with him during his stay in that part of the country. Mr Maclaurin gladly accepted the invitation, and soon after expresses himself thus in a letter to a friend :—" Here," says he, " I live as happily as a man can do who is ignorant of the state of his family, and who sees the ruin of his country." His grace of York, of whose talents and goodness Mr Maclaurin ever retained the highest veneration, held a frequent correspondence with him ; and when it was suspected that the rebels might again enter Edinburgh on their retreat from England, he invited his former guest, for ease and security, to his hospitable mansion. While at York, it was remarked that Mr Maclaurin appeared more than usually meagre and sickly ; but he, at that time, feeling no apprehension of danger, did not consider it necessary to call in medical aid. Having fallen from his horse, however, on his journey southward, and, when the Pretender's army entered England, having, on his return home, been exposed to excessive cold and tempestuous weather, he complained upon his arrival of being seriously indisposed. His disease was soon discovered to be a dropsy in the abdomen, to remove which a variety of medicines were prescribed by the most eminent physicians of the day, and three tappings were resorted to, with little or no effect. While suffering under this painful malady, his behaviour was such as became a philosopher and Christian ; calm, cheerful, and resigned ; retaining his senses and judgment in their full vigour, till within a few hours of his death. Then, for the first time, while engaged in dictating to his amanuensis the last part of the last chapter of his Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries, in which he proves the goodness of God, his amanuensis perceived him to falter. Dr Monro came in shortly afterwards, and he conversed with him after his accustomed manner, and requested him to account for flashes of fire, as it were, darting from his eyes, though his sight was gradually decaying, so that he could scarcely distinguish one object from another. His hands and feet were already cold, and no pulse could be traced in any part of his body. In a short time he desired to be laid upon his bed, where he breathed his last, on the 14th June, 1746, aged forty-eight years and four months. His wife, two sons, and three daughters, survived him. John, the eldest son, studied the law, and after making a distinguished figure at the bar, was promoted to the bench, 17th January, 1789, under the designation of lord Dreghorn. He was an excellent scholar, and erected a monument to his father in the Grey Friars' churchyard, with an inscription which has often been quoted for its simple and expressive eloquence. Lord Dreghorn also published various pieces in prose and verse, which, in their day, enjoyed some reputation, and have been oftener than once printed.

Colin Maclaurin was not only distinguished by his great genius and learning, but by the qualities of his heart, his universal benevolence, and unaffected piety. Dr Monro, in an oration spoken at the first meeting of the university after his death, (from which much of the foregoing account is taken,) draws a sublime and affecting picture of his friend's great qualities, and professes that, after an intimacy with him for so many years, he had but half known his worth, which only disclosed itself in its full lustre, when it came to suffer the severe test of that distressful situation in which every man must at last find himself, and which only minds prepared like his, armed with virtue, can bear with dignity.

If we look back upon the numerous writings of Mr Maclaurin, and the

deep researches he had been engaged in, his patience and assiduity will be equally astonishing with his genius. His favourite studies were mathematics, which he cultivated with wonderful success, influenced by a disinterested love of truth, and aiming constantly at improvement and utility. The further he advanced in the knowledge of geometry and of nature, the greater his aversion grew to perfect systems, hypotheses, and dogmatizing. Without being dissatisfied with the attainments we can arrive at, or the uses which they serve, he saw that there lay infinitely more beyond our reach, and used to call our highest discoveries but a dawn of knowledge, suited to our circumstances and wants in life, in which, however, we ought thankfully to acquiesce for the present, in hopes that it will be improved in a happier and more perfect state. To a view of general utility, all his studies were accommodated; and we find in many places of his works, an application even of the most abstruse theories, to the perfecting of mechanical arts. He had resolved, for the same purpose, to compose a course of practical mathematics, and to rescue several branches of the science from the bad treatment which they often meet with in less skilful hands. But all those designs were frustrated by his death, unless we may reckon as a part of his intended work, the Translation of Dr David Gregory's Practical Geometry, which he revised and published, with additions, in the year 1745. In his lifetime, however, he often had the pleasure to serve his friends and country, by his superior skill. Whatever difficulty occurred concerning the construction or perfecting of machines, the working of mines, the improvement of manufactures, the conveying of water, or the execution of any public work, Mr Maclaurin was at hand to resolve it. He was likewise employed to terminate some disputes of consequence, that had arisen at Glasgow, concerning the gauging of vessels; and for that presented to the commissioners of excise two elaborate memorials containing rules (by which the officers afterwards acted,) with their demonstrations. But what must have given his philanthropic mind a higher source of pleasure than any thing else of the kind, were the calculations he made relative to that wise and humane provision, which is established by law, for the children and widows of the Scottish clergy, and of the professors in the universities, entitling them to certain annuities and sums, upon the voluntary annual payment of a certain sum by the incumbent. On the contrivance and adjustment of this scheme, Mr Maclaurin bestowed great labour, and contributed not a little to bring it to perfection.

To find that his knowledge rendered him thus eminently useful to a late posterity, must have been a delightful enjoyment. But what still more endeared his studies to him, was the use they were of in demonstrating the being and attributes of the Almighty Creator, and establishing the principles of natural religion on a solid foundation, equally secure against the idle sophistry of Epicureans, and the dangerous refinements of modern metaphysicians.

To this use Mr Maclaurin frequently applied them; and he was equally zealous in the defence of revealed religion, which he would warmly undertake, whenever he found it attacked, either in conversation or writing. How firm his own persuasion of its truth was, appears from the support which it afforded him in his last hours.

Among Mr Maclaurin's productions, besides the articles already specified, was a paper sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Paris, in the year 1740, on account of which he shared the prize of the Academy with the celebrated D. Bernouilli and Euler, for resolving the problems relating to the motion of the tides, from the theory of gravity—a question which had been given out during the former year, without receiving any solution. Having only ten days in which to draw up this paper, he had not leisure to transcribe a fair

copy of it ; so that the Paris edition of it is incorrect. Afterwards, however, he revised the whole, and inserted it in his *Treatise of Fluxions*. His contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions*, may be seen in different volumes of these collections, from No. 30 to No. 42, both inclusive, and treat on the following subjects :—"Of the Construction and Measure of Curves,"—"A New Method of describing all kinds of Curves,"—"On Equations with impossible Roots,"—"On the Description of Curves, with an Account of further Improvements, &c."—"An Account of the Annular Eclipse of the Sun at Edinburgh, January 27, 1742-3,"—"A Rule for finding the Meridional Parts of a Spheroid, with the same exactness as of a Sphere,"—And "Of the Bases of the Cells wherein the Bees deposite their Honey." These papers conclude the list of our author's writings, which were published during his lifetime. After his death, the friends, to whose judgment he submitted the disposal of his MSS., gave directions for publishing his "*Treatise of Algebra*," and his "*Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries*." The first of these works, which appeared in 1748, though it had not the advantage to be finished by his own hands, is yet allowed to be excellent in its kind ; containing, in one volume, octavo, of a moderate size, a complete elementary treatise of the science of algebra, as far as it had been hitherto carried. Subjoined to it, by way of appendix, is a Latin tract, "*De Linearum Geometricarum proprietatibus generalibus*," which appears to have been, in our author's judgment, one of the best of his performances, and in which he employed some of the latest hours that he could give to such studies, revising it for the press, as his last legacy to the sciences and the public.

MACNEIL, HECTOR, a poet and miscellaneous writer, was born at Rosebank, near Roslin, in the year 1746. His father had been in the army, where he was patronized by the duke of Argyle, and had mingled in the best company ; but, having offended his patron by selling out without his advice, he was left afterwards to his own resources. He took a farm at Rosebank ; but some imprudences, and the habit of living in a manner above his income, completely ruined his prospects. As his family was then large, it became necessary that the sons should, as soon as possible, be made independent of him. The only expectation for Hector was from a cousin, who carried on a mercantile concern in Bristol. The father, therefore, confined his education to the mercantile branches, dreading, from his own example, the effect of more refined and classical instruction. The youth discovered excellent parts, with an elegance of taste which seemed to mark him for a different destination from that intended. At the age of eleven, he had written a species of drama, in imitation of Gay. His master earnestly entreated to be allowed to give him some of the higher branches ; but on this his father put a decided negative. The attachment, however, of the teacher to his pupil, induced him to impart secretly some elements of this forbidden knowledge. From the father, meantime, young Macneil received many anecdotes of the world, a high sense of honour, and the feelings of a gentleman.

As soon as he had completed his fourteenth year, he was sent off to his cousin at Bristol. On his way, he spent some months at Glasgow, where he completed himself in several branches of his education. His cousin was a rough, boisterous, West India captain, who could not estimate the genius of Macneil, but was pleased with some instances of his spirit. He first proposed to Hector an expedition in a slave ship to the coast of Guinea ; but was diverted from it by some female friends, who rightly judged this destination wholly unsuited to the youth's disposition. He was, therefore, sent on a voyage to St Christopher's, with the view of making the sea his profession, if he liked it ; otherwise, he was

furnished with an introduction to a mercantile house. On his arrival, being completely disgusted with the sea, he hesitated not in accepting the latter alternative. It is probably to this period of his life, that we are to fix an event of a singular nature which is stated to have entirely altered his prospects in life. His master had married a lady much younger than himself, and of great personal attractions; and young Macneil was upon terms of equal intimacy with both. One day, while he was sitting upon a garden chair with the lady, and reading with her from the same book, the ardent feelings of one-and-twenty prompted him to express his admiration of her beauty, by snatching a kiss. It proved the knell of his departing fortune. Notwithstanding his instant penitence, and entreaties for forgiveness, the lady conceived it necessary to inform her husband of what had happened; and the immediate consequence was, the dismissal of Macneil, and a termination to the prospects that were brightening around him. He continued for many years in the West Indies, but does not appear to have ever after known what could be called prosperity. At one time, if not during the whole remaining period of his residence in those colonies, this amiable bard had to stoop to the ungenial employment of a negro-driver. While in this situation, he became a strenuous advocate for the system of West India slavery, and wrote a pamphlet in its defence. The only thing which he allowed to be necessary to make the condition of slavery agreeable, was an improvement in the moral conduct of the masters: a subsequent age has seen slavery brought to an end before this improvement was accomplished.

When above forty years of age, Macneil returned to Scotland, in a wretched state of health, and without having earned even a moderate independence. In these circumstances, notwithstanding that he had many good connexions, and still preserved the feelings of a gentleman and a poet, his situation was of a truly deplorable kind. He, nevertheless, began to exercise the intellectual faculties, which, though so early displayed, had been kept in a kind of abeyance during the intervening period of his life. In 1789, he published "The Harp, a Legendary Tale," which brought him into some notice in the literary circles. In 1795, appeared his principal poetical composition, "Scotland's Skaith, or the History o' Will and Jean; ower true a 'Tale," followed next year by a sequel, entitled "The Waes o' War." Its excellent intention and tendency, with the strokes of sweet and beautiful pathos with which it abounds, render this one of the most admired productions of the Doric muse of Scotland. Except for a simplicity, occasionally degenerating into baldness, which characterizes this as well as other productions of Macneil, "Will and Jean" might safely be compared with the happiest efforts of any other Scottish poet. The enchanting influence of village potations and politics—the deterioration of a worthy rustic character by such means—the consequent despair and degradation of an originally amiable wife—besides the distresses of the Flemish campaign of 1793, and the subsequent restoration of the ruined family to partial comfort, are all delineated in most masterly style. About the same time, Macneil produced "The Links of Forth; or a parting Peep at the Carse of Stirling." This is a descriptive poem; but, though not devoid of merit, it is more laboured and less pleasing. He wrote also a number of songs, some of which possess much pathos and delicacy of sentiment. Not being able, however, to find any means of providing a subsistence, necessity compelled him to seek again the burning climate of the West Indies. After a residence there of only a year and a half, Mr Graham, an intimate friend, died, and left him an annuity of £100, with which he immediately returned to Edinburgh, to enjoy, with this humble independence, the sweets of literary leisure and society. His reputation and manners procured him ready admittance into the most respectable circles; he enjoyed par-

ticularly the intimacy of Mrs Hamilton, authoress of "The Cottagers of Glenburnie" and other esteemed works of fancy. He was then a tall, fine-looking old man, with a very sallow complexion, and a dignified and somewhat austere expression of countenance. His conversation was graceful and agreeable, seasoned with a somewhat lively and poignant satire. Having probably found in his own case, that devotion to the muses did not tend to promote his success in life, he gave no encouragement to it in others, and earnestly exhorted all who wrote poetry that appeared to him at all middling, to betake themselves to some more substantial occupation. In 1800, he published, anonymously, a novel, or the first part of one, entitled "The Memoirs of Charles Macpherson," which is understood to contain a pretty accurate account of the early part of his own life. In 1801, his poetical works were collected into two volumes, foolscap 8vo, and passed through several editions. In 1809, he published "The Pastoral, or Lyric Muse of Scotland," in 4to, a work which did not draw much attention. About the same time, he published, anonymously, "Town Fashions, or Modern Manners Delineated;" and also, "By-gone Times, and Late-come Changes." These pieces, like almost every thing he wrote, had a moral object; but the present one was finctured with his feelings as an old man. It appeared to him, that all the changes which had taken place in society, the increase of luxury, even the diffusion of knowledge, were manifest corruptions; and all his anxiety was to inspire a taste for the old style of living. Wishing to suit the style to the matter, he affected a very homely phraseology; and as this was not natural to him, he overdid it, and disgusted rather than persuaded. Yet he clung very fondly to these bantlings of his old age, and even rated them higher than the more elegant productions of his former pen. Their only real beauty, though he was insensible of it, consisted in a few pathetic passages. Our author also wrote, with the same views, and too much in the same style, a novel, entitled "The Scottish Adventurers, or the Way to Rise," 2 vols. 8vo, 1812. Throughout the earlier years of the century, he contributed many minor pieces, in prose and verse, to the Scots Magazine, of which he was at one time editor.

After a long life of penury, aggravated by ill health, Mr Macneil died of jaundice, March 15, 1818, not leaving behind him wherewithal to defray his funeral expenses.

MACPHERSON, JAMES, a literary character of celebrity, was born at Ruthven, in the county of Inverness, in the latter end of the year 1738. His family was one of the most ancient in that part of the country, and of high respectability. The earlier rudiments of education he received at home, and was afterwards sent to the grammar school of Inverness. At this period he began to discover a degree of talent which induced his family, contrary to their original intention, to bring him up to a learned profession. With this view he was sent, after completing an initiatory course at Inverness, to the university of Aberdeen, and afterwards to that of Edinburgh, where he finished his studies.

Young Macpherson had already begun to exercise his poetical talents; and, while at the university, gave some specimens of his powers in that department of literature, but with very indifferent success. Hitherto, however, he had confined his muse to such short and desultory flights, as young men of poetical temperament usually begin with; but, in 1758, he made a bolder essay, by producing a poem in six cantos, entitled the "Highlander." This work was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo, in the year above named. Though not without some excellences, the "Highlander," as a whole, is an exceedingly poor production, and must be considered so, even with every allowance for the youth of its author, who was yet only in the twentieth year of his age. The public was of a similar opinion with regard to its merits.

and it almost instantly sank into oblivion. It must, however, be recorded, to the credit of the poet, that he very soon became sensible of its defects and deficiencies, and made every endeavour to suppress it. About this time, also, he wrote an ode on the arrival of the earl Marischal in Scotland, which he entitled "An Attempt in the manner of Pindar." This ode, though it certainly does not possess much poetical merit, is yet, on the whole, considerably above mediocrity. From this period, there is no more heard of Macpherson's poetical compositions, until he appeared as the translator of those singular poems on which his celebrity is founded.

It was intended by his friends that he should, on completing his studies, enter the church; but it is not certainly known whether he ever actually did take orders or not. He is, however, spoken of about this time, 1760, as a "young clergyman;" and is described by Hume, the celebrated historian, as "a modest, sensible young man, not settled in any living, but employed as a private tutor in Mr Graham of Balgowan's family; a way of life which he is not fond of." The notice of Mr Hume was thus directed to Macpherson, in consequence of the appearance of a work bearing the title of "Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic, or Erse Language," the production of Macpherson, and the first presentation of that literary novelty which was afterwards to attract so large a portion of the world's notice, and to excite so much discussion and dissension in its literary circles.

The "Fragments" were declared to be genuine remains of ancient Celtic poetry; and were, as well from that circumstance, as their own intrinsic merit, received with the utmost enthusiasm and delight. Every one read them, and every one admired them; and, altogether, a sensation was created in the world of letters, which it had known but on few occasions before. As it was intimated that other specimens of this ancient poetry might be recovered, a subscription was immediately begun, to enable Macpherson to quit his employment as a family preceptor, and to undertake a mission into the Highlands to secure them. With the wishes of his patrons on this occasion, the principal of whom were Dr Blair, Dr Robertson, Dr Carlyle, and Mr Hume, Macpherson readily complied, and lost no time in proceeding in quest of more "Fragments;" having been furnished previously to his setting out with various letters of recommendation and introduction, from the influential persons just named, to gentlemen resident in the Highlands.

After making an extensive tour through the mainland and isles, he returned to Edinburgh, and in 1762 presented to the world the first portion of the results, real or pretended, of his mission. This was "Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem, in 6 books; together with several other Poems, composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal: translated from the Gaelic," 4to. These poems were received with equal, if not yet greater applause, than that which had hailed the first specimen Macpherson had given of Celtic poetry. The demand for the work was immense, and the fame of the translator and saviour, as he was deemed, of these presumed relics of ancient literature, was rapidly spread, not only over Britain, but over all Europe. They were almost immediately translated into nearly every language spoken on the continent; and in each of these translations, Macpherson was alluded to in terms, "that might," as he himself says, "flatter the vanity of one fond of fame,"—a circumstance which must have been highly gratifying to him, for he was fond of fame, even inordinately so, and was known to have been under the influence of a violent passion for literary repute, from a very early period of his life.

In the following year, viz., 1763, the poem of *Fingal*, &c., was succeeded by "*Temora*, in eight books, with other Poems, by Ossian," 4to. This was also well received, but scarcely with the same degree of enthusiasm which had marked the reception of the preceding poems. A change had taken place, both with regard to Macpherson himself, personally, and his poetry. A suspicion as to the authenticity of the latter, was now beginning to steal over the public mind; and the former, from being a modest man, as he was represented to be by Mr Hume, had become insolent and arrogant. Whether this last was the result of the operation of extraordinary success on an ill-regulated mind, or the effect of frequent irritation from the attacks of the sceptical, to which Macpherson was now certainly subjected, it would not, perhaps, be easy to determine. It probably arose partly from both. The likelihood that the latter consideration had, at any rate, some share in producing this change of demeanour is considerable, when the nature of Macpherson's disposition, which was ardent, haughty, impatient and irascible, is taken into account. That such a change, however, had taken place, is certain; and the circumstance derives no little interest from the person by whom, and the manner in which it is marked. "You must not mind," says Mr Hume, in a letter to Dr Blair on the subject of the poems of Ossian, "so strange and heteroclite a mortal, (Macpherson,) than whom I have scarce ever known a man more perverse and unamiable." This was Mr Hume's opinion of him in 1763; and it will be remarked how oddly it contrasts with that which he expressed regarding him in 1760. That Mr Hume, however, saw sufficient reason in Macpherson's conduct, thus to alter his opinion of him, no man can doubt, who knows any thing of the character of the illustrious historian, himself one of the most amiable of men.

In 1764, the year following that in which *Temora* appeared, Macpherson obtained the appointment of secretary to governor Johnstone, then about to set out for the settlement of Pensacola, of which he was made chief. After a short residence in the colony, during which he had assisted in the construction and arrangement of its civil government, a difference arose between Macpherson and the governor, and they parted. The former left the settlement, visited several of the West India islands, and some provinces of North America, and finally returned to England in 1766.

He now took up his residence in London, and shortly after resumed his literary pursuits; these, however, as the Ossianic Poems were now exhausted, were of an entirely different nature from those which had hitherto employed him. His first public appearance again as an author, was in 1771, when he produced a work, entitled "*An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*," 4to. This work, he says himself, he composed merely for private amusement. Whatever were the incitements which led to its production, necessity, at any rate, could not have been amongst the number; for Macpherson, if not already comparatively wealthy, was rapidly becoming so by the extensive sale of the poems. Whether written, however, for amusement, or with a view to fame, the author of the "*Introduction*" had no reason to congratulate himself on the result of its publication. Both the book and the writer were attacked from various quarters with much bitterness of invective, and a controversy regarding its merits and the opinions it promulgated, arose, which was but little calculated to improve the irritable temper of its author, or to add to his happiness. Nor was this treatment compensated by any success to the work itself. It made a sufficient noise; but yielded neither fame nor profit. The former was the result of its author's celebrity; the latter, it is to be feared, of his incapacity.

In an evil hour for his literary reputation, Macpherson, with more confidence than wisdom, began a translation of the *Iliad* of Homer. This work he completed, and gave to the world in 1773. Its reception was mortifying in the extreme. Men of learning laughed at it, critics abused it; and, notwithstanding some strenuous efforts on the part of his friends, particularly Sir John Elliot, it finally sank under one universal shout of execration and contempt. The finishing blow to this production was inflicted by the *Critical Review*, in which it was ably and fatally criticised.

"There is nothing," says one of the most able and elegant of Macpherson's commentators, Dr Graham, the late learned minister of Aberfoyle, "there is nothing which serves to set Macpherson's character and powers in a stronger light than his egregious attempt to render the great father of poetry into prose, however natural it might have been for him to have made this attempt, after his success in doing the same office to Ossian." The temerity of this attempt will not be deemed a little enhanced by the consideration that Pope's elegant translation was already before the world, nor will the awkwardness of its failure be thought lessened by a recollection of the sentiment its author himself expressed on another occasion, viz., that he "would not deign to translate what he could not imitate, or even equal." This unguarded language was now recollected to his prejudice, and carefully employed by his enemies to increase the disgrace of his failure.

To add to the literary mortifications under which Macpherson was now suffering, he found himself attacked by Dr Johnson in his celebrated *Tour to the Hebrides*, published in 1773, on the subject of the authenticity of his translations of Ossian. The remarks of the great moralist, as is well known, are not confined, in this case, to an abstract discussion of the question, but include some severe, though certainly not unmerited personal reflections on the translator.

These the latter resented so highly that he immediately wrote a threatening letter to their author, who replied in spirited and still more severe and sarcastic language than he had employed in his published strictures, saying amongst other humiliating things, "your abilities since your Homer are not so formidable." To this letter Macpherson wisely made no reply, and is not known to have taken any further notice of it than by assisting M^cNicol in his "*Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour*," printed in 1774. Even of this, however, he is only suspected, there being no positive proof that he actually had any share in that production.

Although thus thanklessly acknowledged, Macpherson still continued his literary labours, and in 1775, published "*The History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the accession of the house of Hanover*," in 2 vols. 4to.

Soon after the publication of this work another favourable change took place in the fortunes of its author, and opened up to him a new source of emolument. He was selected by the government, at this time embarrassed by the resistance of the American colonies to its authority, to defend and give force to the reasons which influenced its proceedings with regard to that country. In the discharge of this duty, he wrote a pamphlet entitled, "*The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the claims of the Colonies*," 8vo. 1776. This pamphlet was circulated with great industry, and ran through several editions. He also wrote "*A Short History of the Opposition during the last session of parliament*," 8vo. 1779. The merit of this last production was so remarkable, that it was, at the time, generally ascribed to the pen of Gibbon, a compliment which, however, it is very questionable if its real author appreciated.

About this period Macpherson's good fortune was still further increased by

his being appointed agent to the Nabob of Arcot, in behalf of whom he made several effective appeals to the public, and amongst others published "Letters from Mahommed Ali Chan, Nabob of Arcot, to the court of Directors. To which is annexed a State of facts relative to Tanjore, with an Appendix of original papers," 4to. 1777. He is also supposed to have been the author of "The History and Management of the East India Company, from its origin in 1600, to the present times; vol. i. containing the affairs of the Carnatic, in which the rights of the Nabob are explained, and the injustice of the Company proved," 4to. 1779.

It was now thought advisable that Macpherson, in capacity of agent to the Nabob, should be provided with a seat in parliament, and he was accordingly returned member for Camelford in 1780, and was re-elected for the same place in 1784 and 1790. He, however, never made any attempt to speak in the house, so that the cause of the eastern potentate, whatever it may have gained from his influence abstractly as a member of parliament, was nothing forwarded by his oratory. The period, however, was now rapidly approaching when this and all other earthly matters were no longer to be of any concernment to him. His health now began gradually to fail, and continued to decline till the year 1796, when he became so seriously ill, that it was thought advisable, as all other means were found unavailing, that he should return to his native country, and try the effect of a change of air. He accordingly proceeded to Scotland; but died in the same year, on the 17th February, at his seat of Bellville in the shire of Inverness, in the 58th year of his age.

Macpherson died in opulent circumstances, leaving by his will, dated June 1793, legacies and annuities to various persons to a large amount. Amongst his other bequests there is one of particular interest from its connexion with the celebrated works to which he owes his celebrity, and from its bearing on a circumstance which created one of the most memorable civil wars, in the literary world, upon record—the question of the authenticity of Ossian's poems.

This bequest comprised the sum of £1000, payable to John Mackenzie of Fig-tree Court, in the Temple, to defray the expense of printing and publishing Ossian in the original. Macpherson also directed by his will, that the sum of £300 should be expended in erecting a monument to his memory in some conspicuous situation at Bellville, and that his body should be carried to London and be interred in Westminster Abbey. This was complied with, and he was buried in Poet's Corner.

The preceding sketch, brief as it is, comprehends nearly all of any interest with which the life of Macpherson presents us, and affords in that brevity another instance of the utter disproportion which is so often found to exist between the bulk of a man's personal history and that of his fame,—how much may be afforded in one and the same life, to the essayist, philosopher, or moralist, and how little to the biographer.

One point of interest in Macpherson's life, however, and without some allusion to which any account of it would be incomplete, has been hitherto left all but untouched in this sketch, and that purposely; as it was thought better to give it a distinct and separate place at the conclusion than to interrupt the biographical narrative by its earlier introduction.

The circumstance alluded to is the celebrated controversy regarding the authenticity of Macpherson's translations of the Poems of Ossian,—a controversy which, whether its voluminous amount is considered, the extremely opposite and conflicting testimony by which it is supported, or the various and widely scattered members of which it is composed, cannot be approached without hesitation. The fervour with which it was once attended has long since altogether dis-

appeared, and but little now remains even of the interest with which the mooted point was associated. Few, in short, now care any thing at all about the matter, and even though it were desirable, it would be impossible to resuscitate the intense feeling with which it was once contemplated. This apathy, however, singularly contrasts with the violent commotion and furious zeal which the discussion of the momentous question excited in the public mind some thirty or forty years since. It was then an universal topic of conversation in private circles, while the literary arena was crowded with combatants eager for the contest, and inspired, if their feelings may be judged by their language, with the most cordial hatred towards each other. Fresh champions of the opposite creeds followed each other in endless succession, as their predecessors retired, exhausted or defeated, from the lists.

At one moment the authenticity of the poems seemed established beyond all doubt; in the next it was made still more clear that they were the most impudent forgeries that were ever imposed upon the credulity of the literary world. These were the results of the labours of the more active and zealous partisans of the denying and believing factions; but there were others again, who did not strictly belong to either, and these, taking arguments from both sides, succeeded, with much ingenuity, in involving the question in an obscurity from which it has not emerged to this day.

The Ossianic controversy, like all other controversies, soon became personal, and in nearly every case the discussion of the point exhibited fully as much abuse as arguments. During all this time Macpherson himself, the cause of all this bitterness of spirit and uncharitableness, and the only person who could have allayed it, kept sullenly aloof, and refused to produce that evidence which alone could restore the peace of the literary world, and which he yet declared he possessed. Notwithstanding the celebrity, however, which he was thus acquiring, his situation, in other respects, was by no means an enviable one. By those who did not believe in the authenticity of the poems, he was reviled as an impudent, unprincipled impostor; by those who did, he was charged with being a bungling, unskilful translator; and by both he was abused for his obstinacy in refusing to come forward with his testimony in the cause in dispute.

Before proceeding to take a nearer view of the Ossianic controversy itself, there will be no impropriety in alluding to certain opinions, regarding the subject of it, which have now pretty generally obtained. These are, that it is of little moment whether the poems are genuine or not, and that they are not, after all, worthy, in point of merit, of the notice they have attracted, or of the discussion and dissension they have created. With regard to the last, it is matter of opinion, and must always remain so, since it cannot be decided by any rule of taste. The first, again, involves a sentiment more specious perhaps than profound; for, besides the consideration that truth is at all times and in all cases better than falsehood, and possesses an intrinsic value which in almost every instance renders it worthy of being sought for, the investigation into the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian involves, in the language of the ingenious commentator already named, matter of importance to the "general history of literature, and even that of the human race."

Whatever weight, however, may be allowed to these considerations, it is certain that Macpherson's Poems of Ossian have lost a very large portion of the popularity which they once enjoyed, and are evidently losing more every day. The rising generation do not seem to have that relish for their beauties, or rather do not see those beauties in them which captivated their fathers, and this can be ascribed only, either to a change in literary taste, or to some defect or

defects in the poems themselves, which improved intellectual culture has detected; for it is the result of an opinion formed on their abstract merits as literary compositions, and is wholly unconnected with the question of their authenticity, that now being considered a point of such indifference, as to be but rarely taken into account in the decision. The book is now taken up, without a thought being wasted on the consideration whether it be the production of Ossian or Macpherson, and is judged of by its own intrinsic value; and tested in this way, it would appear that it has been found wanting; a result which seems to show that the greatest charm of the poems, even at the time when they were most appreciated, co-existed with the belief that they were genuine relics of antiquity; that it was inseparable from this belief, that it was born of it, fostered by it, and perished with it; that, in short, it lived and died with it, and was exactly proportioned to its strength and its weakness.

Of the controversialists in this celebrated literary war the list is both long and illustrious, and comprehends some of the proudest names of which this country has to boast. Amongst these occur those of Dr Blair, Dr Gregory, lord Kames, Hume, and Dr Johnson. The most remarkable next to these were, Dr Smith of Campbelltown, Dr Graham of Aberfoyle, Sir John Sinclair, Mr Laing, author of "Notes and Illustrations" introduced into an edition of Ossian's Poems, published in Edinburgh in 1805; Mr Alexander Macdonald, author of a work entitled "Some of Ossian's lesser poems rendered into verse, with a preliminary discourse in answer to Mr Laing's Critical and Historical Dissertations on the antiquity of Ossian's Poems," 8vo, Liverpool, 1805; and W. Shaw, A.M., author of "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," London, 1781. There were besides these a host of others, but of lesser note. Of those just named, there were six who may be said, generally speaking, to have been in favour of the authenticity of the poems, and five against it. The former were Dr Blair, Dr Gregory, lord Kames, Dr Graham, Sir John Sinclair, and Mr Macdonald. The latter, Mr Hume, Dr Johnson, Mr Laing, Dr Smith, and Mr Shaw.

Here, then, we are startled at the very outset by the near approach to equality in the amount of intelligence and talent which appears arrayed on either side; nor is this feeling greatly lessened in comparing the evidence adduced by each party in support of their opposite opinions, and in confutation of those of their opponents. Both seem conclusive when taken separately, and both defective when placed in juxtaposition.

Although, however, two classes only of controversialists have been made above, there were actually four, or rather the two given are found on closer inquiry to be again subdivided—of the believers, into those whose opinion of the authenticity of the poems was unqualified, and those again who believed them to be authentic only to a certain extent, while the remainder were interpolations by the translator. Of the former were Blair, Gregory, lord Kames, Sir John Sinclair, and Macdonald. Of the latter was Dr Graham, and though only one, he was yet the representative of a large body who entertained a similar opinion. Of the disbelievers, again, there were those who utterly denied their authenticity; and those who, entertaining strong doubts, did not yet go the whole length of rejecting them as spurious. Of the first were Dr Johnson, Laing, and Shaw. Of the last, Mr Hume, and Dr Smith.

The controversy thus stands altogether upon four separate and distinct grounds. These are, first, an entire and unqualified belief in the authenticity of the poems; second, a belief that they are in part genuine, and in part spurious, including a charge of interpolation and false translation; third, much doubt, but no certainty; and, fourth, a thorough conviction of their being wholly forgeries.

The principal arguments adduced in support of the first opinion, are—that the poems bear internal evidence of antiquity;—that their originals are or were well known in the Highlands, and that there were many persons there who could repeat large portions of them; that Macpherson's talents, judging by his own original works, the Highlander, Translation of the Iliad, &c., were not equal to the production of poems of such transcendent merit as those ascribed to Ossian; that many credible witnesses were present, on various occasions, when Macpherson was put in possession of these poems, orally and by MS.; and, lastly, that the originals themselves are now before the world.

With regard to the internal evidence of the genuineness of these poems, it is to be feared that this is a thing more ingenious than sound; and, like the imaginary figures that present themselves in the fire, is more easily described than pointed out. It will, at any rate, scarcely be deemed sufficient proof, that the poems in question are ancient, merely because they bear no likeness to any that are modern.

Dr Blair's celebrated dissertation on this subject, and on the authenticity of the poems generally, is much more elegant, ingenious, and learned, than convincing; and appears, after all, to establish little more, indeed little more seems aimed at, than that the poems may and should be ancient, not that they are. To those who think that the absence of all modern allusion in the poems, and the exclusive use which is made of natural imagery, without one single exception, is a proof of their antiquity, the argument of internal evidence will have, no doubt, considerable weight; but there are others who see in this circumstance only caution and dexterity on the part of Macpherson, and who, in consequence, instead of reckoning it an evidence of his veracity, consider it but as a proof of his ingenuity.

As to the assertion, again, that the originals were well known in the Highlands, and that there were many persons there who could repeat them. This, on inquiry, turns out to mean only, that fragments of Gaelic poetry,—not entire poems, as given by Macpherson, but certainly, such as they were, of undoubted antiquity,—were to be met with in the Highlands. That such were, and probably are to be found there even to this day, is undeniable; but, in the first place, they have been in no instance found in the complete state in which they appear in the translations, but disjointed and disconnected, and, still worse, bearing only in a few instances any more than a resemblance to the English poems. In large portions, even this is entirely wanting. The originals, then, in the only sense in which that word ought to be used, cannot, with truth, be said to have existed in the Highlands. Fragments of ancient poetry, as already said, did indeed exist there, but not the mass of poetry given to the world by Macpherson as the Poems of Ossian, and said by him to have been collected in the Highlands. The assertion, therefore, has been made, either with a view to deceive, or without a due consideration of the meaning of the terms in which it is conveyed.

The argument deduced from Macpherson's talents, as exhibited in his original works, to show that he could not be the author of the poems in question, is plausible; but the premises on which it is founded, are by no means of so incontrovertible a nature as to give us implicit confidence in the conclusion. That a literary man may utterly fail in one or more instances, and be eminently successful in another, is perfectly consistent with experience. It has often happened, and is, therefore, not more extraordinary in Macpherson's case, supposing him to be the author, and not merely the translator of the poems ascribed to Ossian, than in many others that could be named. Besides, something like a reason is to be found for his success in this species of composition, in the

fact that, from his earliest years he was an enthusiastic admirer of Celtic lore ; and that its poetry, in particular, was one of his constant and most agreeable studies. This argument, then, can have no great weight, unless it be deemed an impossibility, that a man who had failed in one or more literary attempts, should be successful in another ; an assertion which, it is believed, few will be hardy enough to venture, and which, it is certain, fewer still will be able to make good.

With regard to that part of the controversy where evidence is produced by credible, and, in several of the instances, certainly highly respectable witnesses, of Macpherson's having been put in possession, in their presence, of various poems ascribed to Ossian, both oral and written ;—without questioning the credibility of these witnesses, an important objection may be fairly brought against the nature of their evidence. It is liable to that charge of generality which Mr Hume thought, and every impartial person must think, ought to be considered “ as being of no authority.” In no single instance is any particular poem, or any particular part of a poem, distinctly traced by such evidence from its original possessor to the pages of Macpherson's volumes. Not one of them has stated the results of what came under his own observation, in any thing like such plain terms as “ I saw, or heard Macpherson put in possession of the first duan of Cath-loda ; I read it over carefully at the time, and I assert that the English poem of that name which he has given, is a translation of the same.” The witnesses alluded to, have said nothing like this. The amount of their evidence is, that it consists with their knowledge that Macpherson did obtain Gaelic poems, when in the Highlands. They saw him get some in MS., and they were present when others were recited to him. But here their testimony terminates ; and in no case have the poems been further identified in the English dress with those which he procured on these occasions, than as bearing, in some instances, a general resemblance to them. The extent to which Macpherson made use of what they saw him get, or, indeed, what use he made of it at all, they have not said, because they could not ; for, although he carried away the originals, they did not, and could not, therefore, ascertain, by the only process by which it could with certainty be ascertained, by collation, what he had omitted, or what he had retained ; what he had changed, or what he had left unaltered.

We come now to the last proof exhibited in support of the authenticity of the English poems of Ossian, and it is by far the most startling of the whole. It would seem, indeed, were it adopted without examination, to set the question for ever at rest, and to place it beyond the reach of all further controversy. This proof is the “ Originals” published by Sir John Sinclair in 1806, an evidence which certainly appears, at first sight, conclusive ; but what is the fact ? They are not originals, in so far as the written poetry which Macpherson obtained is concerned ; for they are all in his own hand-writing, or that of his amanuensis. The term *original*, therefore, in this case, can only be applied to what he wrote down from oral communication ; and it will at once be perceived how much their evidence is already weakened by this limitation of the meaning of the word *original*, as employed by Sir John Sinclair. How far, again, it may be relied upon as applied to the oral communications which Macpherson received, must entirely depend upon the degree of faith which is put in his integrity. He has said that they are the originals, but this is all we have for it, and by many, we suspect, it will scarcely be deemed sufficient. He had a control over these documents which greatly lessens, if it does not wholly destroy all faith in them as evidences ; while his interest in producing them, must lay them open, under all circumstances, to the strongest

suspicions. But it is said, that it is not likely that he would be at the trouble of going through so laborious a process as this, merely to support an imposture—that, though willing, he was, from his want of skill in the Gaelic language, unfit for the task, and could not have produced poems in that language of such merit as those which he gave as originals—that the Gaelic poems are superior to the English—and lastly, that from impartial and critical examination, the former must have been anterior to the latter. With regard to the first of these assertions, it seems to be merely gratuitous, as it rests upon a question which Macpherson himself alone could determine, and can, therefore, be of no weight as an argument. That Macpherson was greatly deficient in critical knowledge of the Gaelic language, and that he could not consequently produce poems in that language of such merit as those which he represents as the originals of Ossian, is certain, because it is established by the clearest evidence, and by the concurring testimony of several eminent Gaelic scholars; but although he could not do this himself, he could employ others to do it, and it is well known that he was intimate, and in close correspondence with several persons critically skilled in the Gaelic language, of whose services he availed himself frequently, and largely, when preparing his “Translations.” Might he not have had recourse to the same aid in translating from the English to the Gaelic? Dr Johnson thought so. “I am far from certain,” says the sagacious moralist, “that some translations have not been lately made that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work.” In truth, the presumption that Macpherson did procure Gaelic translations to be made from the English, is exceedingly strong, as will appear from various circumstances yet to be alluded to. At all events, it does not seem by any means an inevitable conclusion, that because he was not himself capable of writing what are called the originals, they are, therefore, original. But the strongest part of the argument in favour of their originality yet remains. It is said that the Gaelic is superior to the English, and that on an impartial and critical examination, it appears that the former must have been anterior to the latter. Now, the first of these is again matter of opinion, and as such, entitled to no more consideration than opinions generally deserve. To many their merits will appear on the whole pretty equal; to others, the Gaelic will, in some instances, seem the more beautiful; and in some, again, the English. The second assertion, however, is not of this description. It is not founded on opinion, but on an alleged positive internal evidence. It is to be regretted, however, that that evidence had not been pointed out in more specific terms than those employed—that it had not been distinctly said what are those particular circumstances which, on a perusal, establish the relative ages of the Gaelic and English versions; for, on an impartial and critical examination lately made by a person eminently skilled in the Gaelic language, for the express purpose of furnishing information for this article, it does not appear, at least from any thing he could discover, that the Gaelic poems must, of necessity, have preceded the English. They certainly contain nothing that shows the contrary—nothing that discovers them to be of modern composition; but neither do Macpherson’s English poems of Ossian. Neither of them betray themselves by any slip or inadvertency, and this, negative as it is, is yet all that can be said of both as to internal evidence.

What has just been said, includes nearly all the leading and direct arguments which have been employed in the defence of the authenticity of Macpherson’s translations of the Poems of Ossian, and nearly all that can be urged against that belief, with the exception of that which may be deduced from Macpherson’s own conduct in relation to the question, and which shall be afterwards referred to.

We come now to consider the grounds of the belief, that the poems are in part genuine, and in part spurious; including a charge of interpolation, and of false translation. What has been already said having necessarily included all the ramifications of the controversy, the consideration of this point need not detain us long, for happily the evidence is not only quite at hand, but of the most conclusive and satisfactory description. That some portion of Macpherson's English poems are genuine, at least in so far as that can be considered genuine, of which the utmost that the committee of the Highland Society found themselves warranted in saying, after much and careful inquiry, was, that it bore a strong *resemblance* to certain fragments which they themselves had obtained, is beyond doubt. Macpherson, as before said, certainly did gather some scraps of poetry in the Highlands, and as certainly did make some use of them in the composition of his poems. But that he introduced a great deal of his own, that he interpolated, and that he translated falsely the little he got, is equally certain. The fact is incontrovertibly established by Dr Graham, to whose able work on the subject, entitled "An Essay on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," we refer the reader for more full information, and is thus confirmed by the committee of the Highland Society, who, after stating in their Report that they had "not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title or tenor with the poems published by him," proceed to say, "It (the committee) is inclined to believe that he (Macpherson) was in use to supply chasms, and to give connexion, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language, in short, by changing what he considered as too simple or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what, *in his opinion*, was below the standard of good poetry." What immediately follows this sentence, though not relevant to the point immediately under discussion is too important to be passed over. The committee goes on to say, "To what degree, however, he exercised these liberties, it is *impossible* for the Committee to determine." Now, this means, if it means any thing, that the interpolations were such close imitations of the original, that, of the whole poems, it was impossible to distinguish which was Ossian's and which Macpherson's; therefore, that the poetry of the latter was as good as that of the former. An admission this, that would seem to settle the point of Macpherson's ability to forge the poems, a point so strongly insisted upon by the defenders of their authenticity, by showing that he *was* competent to write them, and, in accordance with this, it may be asked, if he wrote a part thus excellently, why might he not have written the whole? Dr Graham, it is true, has, in several instances, detected "Macpherson's bombast," but this only shows that Macpherson has occasionally fallen into an error, which it was next to impossible to avoid altogether in a work written in the peculiar style of Ossian's poems.

There still, however, remains one overpowering circumstance, which, if there were no other evidence against the fidelity of Macpherson, would probably be held by most unprejudiced inquirers as quite conclusive of the whole question. The "Originals" correspond exactly with the "Translations," in language, and indeed in every point. How can this be reconciled to the fact admitted by Macpherson himself, that he took certain liberties with the original Gaelic? The "Originals," when published, might have been expected to exhibit such differences with the "Translations," as would arise from Mr Macpherson's labours as an emendator and purifier of the native ideas. But they do not exhibit any traces of such difference. The unavoidable conclusion is, that the Originals, prepared by Macpherson, and published by Sir John Sinclair, were either

altogether a forgery, or were accommodated to the 'Translations, by such a process as entirely to destroy their credit, and render their publication useless.

We shall now proceed to take a view of the conduct of Macpherson himself, in so far as it relates to the controversy which he had been the means of exciting, and when we do this, we shall find that whether he really was an impostor or no, in the matter of the poems, he pursued exactly the course, with regard to them and the public, which an impostor would have done. He was accused of being guilty of an imposition. He took no steps to rebut the charge. He was solicited to give proofs of the authenticity of the poems. He refused, and for upwards of thirty years submitted to wear the dress of a bankrupt in integrity, without making any attempt to get rid of it. He affected, indeed, a virtuous indignation, on all occasions, when the slightest insinuation was made that an imposition had been practised; and, instead of calmly exhibiting the proofs of his innocence, he got into a passion, and thus silenced, in place of satisfying inquiry. "To revenge," says Dr Johnson, speaking of Macpherson's conduct in this matter, "reasonable incredulity, by refusing evidence, is a degree of insolence, with which the world is not yet acquainted; and stubborn audacity is the last refuge of guilt."

A suspicion of the authenticity of the poems almost immediately followed the appearance of those published in 1762, and the first public notice taken of it by Macpherson himself, occurs in 1763, in his preface to *Temora*, published in that year. He there says, "Since the publication of the last collection of Ossian's poems, many insinuations have been made, and doubts arisen, concerning their authenticity. I shall probably hear more of the same kind after the present poems make their appearance. Whether these suspicions are suggested by prejudice, or are only the effects of ignorance of facts, I shall not pretend to determine. To me they give no concern, as I have it always in my power to remove them. An incredulity of this kind is natural to persons who confine all merit to their own age and country. These are generally the weakest, as well as the most ignorant of the people. Indolently confined to a place, their ideas are very narrow and circumscribed. It is ridiculous enough to see such people as these are branding their ancestors with the despicable appellation of barbarians. Sober reason can easily discern where the title ought to be fixed with more propriety. As prejudice is always the effect of ignorance, the knowing, the men of true taste, despise and dismiss it. If the poetry is good, and the characters natural and striking, to these it is matter of indifference, whether the heroes were born in the little village of Angles, in Jutland, or natives of the barren heaths of Caledonia. That honour which nations derive from ancestors worthy or renowned, is merely ideal. It may buoy up the minds of individuals, but it contributes very little to their importance in the eyes of others. But of all those prejudices which are incident to narrow minds, that which measures the merit of performances by the vulgar opinion concerning the country which produced them, is certainly the most ridiculous. Ridiculous, however, as it is, few have the courage to reject it; and I am thoroughly convinced, that a few quaint lines of a Roman or Greek epigrammatist, if dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum, would meet with more cordial and universal applause, than all the most beautiful national rhapsodies of all the Celtic bards and Scandinavian scalds that ever existed." This, it is presumed, will be thought rather an odd reply to the doubts entertained concerning the authenticity of the poems; or rather it will be thought to be no reply at all. It is all very well as to reasoning and writing; but, it will be perceived, wonderfully little to the purpose. All that he condescends to say, in this rhapsody, to the point at issue—the "doubts"—is, that he "has it always in his power to remove them." But he made no use of

this power then, nor at any period during his after life, though urged to it by motives which gentlemen and men of honour have been always accustomed to hold as sacred.

When pressed by the committee of the Highland Society of London, to publish the originals, and thus satisfy the public mind as to the authenticity of the poems, Macpherson thus replies to the secretary of that body:—"I shall adhere to the promise I made several years ago to a deputation of the same kind, [in their anxiety to have the question set at rest, they had proposed that another deputation should wait upon him for this purpose,] that is, to employ my first leisure time, and a considerable portion of time it must be, to do it accurately, in arranging and printing the originals of the Poems of Ossian, as they have come to my hands." The delay here acknowledged, a delay of several years, and the further delay bespoken, as it were, in this extract, between the promise of giving the originals to the world and its fulfilment, will seem to many suspicious circumstances, and will appear rather a necessary provision for getting up a translation from the English, than for the preparation of original documents. Nor is this suspicion lessened by his telling us, that they were yet to arrange; a process which it will be thought must of necessity have taken place before they were translated. It seems odd that the translations should be in perfect order, while the originals were in confusion. The mere disarrangement of sheets of MS., from passing through the hands of the printer, or from inattention, could scarcely warrant the formidable and cautious provision of "a considerable portion of time."

The fact of Macpherson having interpolated, although it could not have been ascertained by other evidence, would be sufficiently established by his own. When taxed by Dr Macintyre of Glenorchy with being himself the author of the greater part of the Poem of Fingal—"You are much mistaken," replied Macpherson; "I had occasion to do *less* of that than you suppose." Thus admitting the fact, and only limiting its extent.

On the whole, it seems, on a careful revision of all that has been said on this once famous controversy, beyond all doubt that Macpherson is, in nearly the strictest sense of the word, the author of the English Poems of Ossian. The skeleton was furnished him, but it was he who clothed it with flesh, endued it with life, and gave it the form it now wears. He caught the tone and spirit of the Celtic lyre, from hearing its strings vibrating in the wind. The starting note was given him, but the strain is his own. Whatever degree of merit, therefore, may be allowed to these strains, belongs to Macpherson.

MAIR, or MAJOR, JOHN, a celebrated name of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Little of the life of this eminent person is known, beyond a few incidental circumstances mentioned in his own works, and some allusions by contemporary scholars. Dr Mackenzie and other writers not to be depended on, have stated, without reference to any authority, that he was born in the year 1469. His birth-place, by his own account, was the parish of North Berwick, and is said to have been at the village of Gleghorn. In the early part of the sixteenth century he became a member of Christ's college in Cambridge.¹ "In this post," says bishop Nicholson, "he seems to have written

¹ He afterwards went to the university of Paris. Mackenzie, who has corrected his life of Major in the preface to his work, on the ground of some communications received from Paris, says he joined the university in 1493, and became master of arts in 1496. "Mr John Harvey," continues this authority, "a Scotsman and bursar, or fellow of the Scots college, being then rector of the university of Paris, he passed through all the honourable places of the faculty of arts, being first procurator and then quæstor; and designs himself thus in the Register, 'M. Joannes Mair, Glegernocensis, Diocesis S. Andreae.' He was made doctor of divinity in 1508."—*Mackenzie's Lives*, vol. ii. *Preface*, vii.

his history ; which, as he acknowledges, was penned in the year 1518, the seventh of king James the fifth's age."² Mackenzie says he left Paris immediately on having written his history, and in the year mentioned we know him to have been in Scotland, as he was then incorporated a member of the university of Glasgow, and bore the titles of Canon of the chapel royal, and vicar of Dunlop, while he is termed "Doctor Parisiensis."³ In 1521, the same authority shows him to have been professor of theology in Glasgow, and one of the "Intrantes" and "Deputati Rectoris ;" probably performing, in the latter capacity, the duties now performed, or presumed to be performed by the assessors of the rector. During that year his well known work, "*De Gestis Scotorum*," was published in Paris by Badius Ascensius, the same person who afterwards published the history of Hector Boece. He is said by Bayle to have written "*stylo Sorbonico*," a characteristic not intended as a compliment. The Latinity of this work has been censured by scholars ; but the matter which it clothes, if not likely to repay a reader of the present age for the labour of perusal, presents us with much contempt of prejudices common to the age ; considerable knowledge of the grounds of historical truth, and a mass of curious information, sometimes of that petty and domestic nature, which is valuable because it is so generally omitted by others. His notices of the state and value of provisions, and of local customs might be valuable to the political economist and antiquary. He has shown much sound sense in rejecting a mass of the fables narrated by his precursors in history, Wyntoun and Fordun, believing the tale of Gathelus coming from Greece, to have been invented for the purpose of excelling the English who brought their "Brute" or "Brutus" from Troy, the Greeks being, as all history and poetry must testify, a far more respectable source of ancestry than the Trojans. Of the race of kings, amounting to about forty-five, betwixt Fergus I. and Fergus II., now blotted from the list, he mentions, and that but slightly, only three or four. On this subject Dr Mackenzie, who wishes to speak favourably of the subject of his memoir, while he has a still higher respect for the antiquity of his native land, remarks, in a tone of chagrin, "in his account of our monarchs, of fifteen kings, that he only acknowledges to have been between Fergus I. and II., he mentions not above three or four of them ; and it plainly appears," continues the doctor, drawing the proper deduction, "from the whole tract of his history, that it was not drawn out of ancient and authentic monuments, for he cites none of them, but from the historians above quoted."⁴ The views of civil liberty inculcated in this work surprise us when we consider the period and state of society at which it was written, and they would certainly at the present juncture be termed philosophically just. If a man of so original a mind as Buchanan may be supposed to have derived his political sentiments from an inferior genius, it is not improbable that the doctrines of kingly power so beautifully illustrated in the dialogue "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*" may have been imbibed from the doctrines inculcated by Major, under whom Buchanan studied logic. The doctrines of Major are more boldly and broadly, if not justly, laid down than those of Grotius.⁵ Although a churchman, he was

² Scottish Hist. Library, 103.

³ According to the records of the university of Glasgow, in the Notes to Wodrow's Biographical Collection, now in the course of being printed by the Maitland Club, it is said that in the year 1518 "*Egregius vir dictus Joannes Majoris, Doctor Parisiensis, ac principalis Regens collegii et pedagogii dicti universitatis, Canonicusque capelle regie, ac vicarius de Dunlop, &c.*" was incorporated along with forty-three others.

⁴ Mede, Caxton, and Froissart are Major's chief authorities.

⁵ One passage is peculiarly striking, and, had the effect of published opinions been better known at the period, might have brought persecution on the head of the author: "*Populus liber primo regi dat robur, ejus potestas a toto populo dependet, quia aliud jus Fergusius primus rex Scotiæ non habuit: et ita est ubilibet, et ab orbe condito erat communiter.*"

likewise peculiarly unfettered in his clerical opinions. He condemned the monkish profuseness of David I., that "sair saunt to the crown," and in a work entitled "*Disputationes de Potestate Papæ et Concilii*,"⁶ he afterwards uncanonically argued the necessity of excluding all spiritual dignitaries from authority in matters temporal. Mackenzie, in his corrected statement, continues, "he remained in Scotland about five years, and taught theology in the university of St Andrews." At what time he joined that university it would be difficult to discover, but it appears that he was connected with the university of Glasgow until the year 1522, when he receives in the record the several titles already attributed to him, and with the addition of "*Theologiæ Professor*," and "*Thesaurus capellæ regiæ Strevelinensis*."⁷ He was, however, assuredly professor of theology in St Andrews in the year 1525, as Buchanan is said in his life, either written by himself or by Sir Peter Young, to have then studied under him, in the college of St Salvator. The celebrity of his lectures had attracted the poet's attention; and, whether as a pupil of Major, or to fulfill his previous intentions, he followed his teacher to France. The connexion was the cause of an accusation of ingratitude against Buchanan. Buchanan had afterwards penned an epigram on Major, in which he turned his name to the bitter qualification, "*Solo cognomine Major*."⁸ It is probable that the opportunity of so apt a witticism was the sole motive of Buchanan; but Mackenzie and Christopher Irvine maintained that Buchanan had been fed both in mind and body by the charity of Major, who had procured him a professorship in the college of St Barbe. "He who had eat his bread," observes the latter, "and lived under his discipline, both in St Andrews and in the Sorbon, the space of five years, might have afforded him an handsomer character than *solo cognomine Major*;" and concludes, "but I leave these wretches to the care of the great accuser, and go to my business."⁹ There appears to be no other foundation for the charge but the inferences which may be drawn from a passage in Buchanan's life, which does not express such a meaning.⁹ Mackenzie states that Major remained in Paris till 1530. Unfortunately little is known of the circumstances of his life during that period, nor will our limits permit an investigation among continental authors, which might provide useful matter for a more extended memoir. We know, however, that his fame was extensive and well supported. He has received high praise from such bibliographical writers as Dupin, Belarmin, and Vossius. He is alluded to by some of his countrymen with less praise; and Leslie and Dempster, probably displeased at his view of the antiquities of his native country, sneer at the barbarism of his style. Major was probably one of the latest commentators on that universal text book, the Sentences of Peter Lombard. In 1519, he had published "*In Libros Sententiarum primum et secundum commentarium*;" a work which has passed to oblivion with its subject. In 1521, he published an Introduction to Aristotle's Dialectics, and in 1529, "*In Quatuor Evangelia Expositiones Luculentæ*," being a discussion on the arrangement of the Gospels as to date. Mackenzie mentions that he re-

Continuing the train of reasoning, he concludes, "*Tertio arguitur ad eandem conclusionem probandum: regem et posteros pro demeritis populus potest exauthorare sicut et primo insituere.*" p. 175.

⁶ Printed in the *Vindiciæ Doctrinæ Majorum Scholæ Parisiensis*, &c. of Richerius.

⁷ In the same year, "*Dominus Decanus Johannes Major*," is one of the "*auditores computi*," and also one of the "*Intrantes*," and "*Deputati Rectoris*."

⁸ *Nom. Scot.*, 1819. 127.

⁹ *Primo vero ad fanum Andreæ missus est, ad Joannem Majorem audiendum, qui tum ibi dialecticem, aut verum sophisticen, in extrema senectute docebat. Hunc in Galliam æstate proxima secutus, in flammam Lutheranæ sectæ, jam late se spargentem incidit: ac biennium fere cum iniquitate fortunæ collectatus, tandem in Collegium Barbaranum accitus, &c.—Vita Buch. i.*

turned to Scotland in 1530, and taught theology at St Andrews "till he came to a great age; for in the year 1547, at the national council of the church of Scotland at Linlithgow, he subscribed, by proxy, in quality of dean of theology of St Andrews, not being able to come himself by reason of his age, which was then seventy-eight, and shortly after he died."

Anthony Wood has discovered from a manuscript note of Bryan Twyne that Major was at some period of his life at Oxford, but in what house is unknown, "unless," says bishop Nicholson, "in Osney Abbey, whose melodious bells he commends." If we could suppose Wood to have mistaken a century, the following might apply to the subject of our memoir during the year when he is said by Mackenzie to have gone to France. Speaking of St John's school belonging to St John's Hospital, he says, "all that I find material of this school is, that it, with others of the same faculty, were repaired by one John Major, an Inceptor in the same faculty, anno 1426."¹⁰

MAITLAND, (SIR) RICHARD, of Lethington, the collector and preserver of our early Scottish poetry, and himself a poet of no mean rank, was the son of William Maitland of Lethington and Thirlstane, and Martha, daughter of George, lord Seaton. He was born in the year 1496; but his father having perished at the calamitous battle of Flodden, he was at an early period of life deprived of paternal guidance and instruction. After going through the usual course of academical education at St Andrews, he repaired to France, then the resort of all young Scotsmen of rank, and more especially of students of law. The time of his return is altogether unknown; he is supposed by one of his biographers¹ to have been absent from his native country during the earlier part of the minority of James V.; or if he did return previous to that period, his name is not connected with any of its turmoils. Before his departure from Scotland, he is believed to have been connected with the court of James IV. We are at all events certain, that on his return he was successively employed by James V., the regent Arran, and Mary of Lorraine. To his services, during the regency of the latter, he alludes in his poem on "The Quenis Arryvale in Scotland:"—

Madam, I wes trew servand to thy mother,
And in hir favoure stude ay thankfullie
Of my estait, als weill as ony other.

A passage in Knox's history has attached some suspicion to the good name of Sir Richard, at this period of his life. He is alleged to have been instrumental in procuring, for bribes, the liberation of cardinal Beaton from the custody of his kinsman, Lord Seaton. Of his share in the guilt of this transaction, such as it is, no proof exists; while there is something very like direct evidence that he was attached to the English and protestant party, and consequently, in favouring Beaton, would have been acting against sentiments which the most of men hold sacred. That evidence consists in an entry in the Criminal Record, to the following effect:—"Richard Maitland, of Lethingtoun, found George, lord Seytoun, as his surety, that he would enter within the castle of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, when and where it might please the lord governor, on forty-eight hours' warning: and that the said Richard shall remain a good and faithful subject, and remain within the kingdom, and have no intelligence with our ancient enemies the English, under the pain of £10,000."¹²

¹⁰ Wood's *Antiquities of Oxford*, ii. 766.

¹ Biographical Introduction to Sir Richard's Poems, printed by the Maitland Club, p. xxii

² Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. 338.

We soon after find Sir Richard engaged in diplomatic transactions for the settlement of the borders. In 1552, he was appointed, along with others, to make a division of what was called the debatable land, which division was ratified in the following November;³ and in 1559, he was nominated in a commission of a similar nature. The result of the last was, the conclusion of the treaty of Upsetlington.

In 1563, he was appointed one of the commissioners to decide on the application of the act of oblivion; and in the month of December of the same year, to frame regulations for the commissaries then about to be established for the decision of consistorial causes.

While he was thus employed, he was also rising rapidly in the profession which he had more peculiarly adopted. He is mentioned on the 14th of March, 1551, as an extraordinary lord of session; and about the same period, or soon afterwards, he received the honour of knighthood. Ten years afterwards (12th November, 1561) he was admitted an ordinary lord, in the room of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar; and on the same day his son, William Maitland, was received as an extraordinary lord, in place of Mr Alexander Livingston of Dunipace. Sir Richard was soon afterwards made a member of the privy council; and upon the 20th of December, 1562, appointed lord privy seal, which office he resigned in 1567 in favour of his second son, John, then prior of Coldinghame, and better known by his subsequent title of lord Thirlestane. When we consider that these appointments were bestowed on Sir Richard, in circumstances that seemed to oppose an almost insurmountable barrier to the performance of their duties, they will be considered as the most decided proof of the estimation in which he was held as a good man, and an able lawyer. It does not exactly appear whether his health had been impaired by the performance of the duties of his various and important offices,—it is only certain that about this period he had become blind. This calamity must have overtaken him before October, 1560, and most probably after his last appointment as a commissioner for the settlement of border disputes, in 1559. The allusion to it in his poem on “The Quenis Arryvale in Scotland,” (which must have been written in the latter part of 1561,) is clear and unquestionable.

And thoch that I to serve be nocht sa abill

As I wes wont, *because I may not see*;

Yet in my hairt I sall be firme and stabill

To thy Hienes with all fidelitie,

Ay prayan God for thy prosperitie, &c.

The state of the administration of the laws at this period was sufficiently deplorable. The nobles and barons, while they assembled in parliament for the purpose of making statutes, felt no scruple in breaking them, on the most trifling occasions, and then appearing, when called to the bar of justice, surrounded by armed followers. So common, indeed, did this practice become, and so little regulated by the goodness or badness of the cause, that when some of the reformers were cited before Mary of Lorraine, the queen dowager and regent of Scotland, a large body of their friends assembled to accompany them to Stirling, where the queen then was; and it was not till a promise of pardon (which was in the most unprincipled manner immediately violated) had been given, that they could be prevailed on to disperse. In like manner, when the borderers or Highlanders extended their depredations beyond their usual limits, it was necessary that an army should be assembled for their suppression;

³ Keith's History, p. 58.

and if the king did not accompany it in person, the command was given to some nobleman of high rank. In most cases, the nobles were by far too powerful to fear the most energetic measures of a government which, receiving as yet no support from the people, depended upon themselves for its very existence. Feeling their inability to punish the real criminals, the king and his ministers frequently wreaked their vengeance on some unfortunate individual, who, though far less guilty than his feudal lord, was too feeble to oppose the ministers of the law. In such cases, the wretched criminal was prevailed upon by intimidation, perhaps in many cases where the necessary proof of guilt could not be adduced, to "come in the king's will,"—a phrase meaning to submit without condition to the royal mercy,—or the jury were terrified into a verdict, the nature of which no one can doubt, by the threats of the king's advocate to prosecute them for wilful error, if they did not comply. No one who has looked into the late publication of the "Criminal Trials, and other Proceedings before the High Court of Justiciary," by Mr Robert Pitcairn, will accuse us of over-colouring the picture which we have now drawn. "In truth," (to quote the words of an admirable review of that work, supposed to be one of the last critiques of our lamented Sir Walter Scott,) "no reader of these volumes,—whatever his previous acquaintance with Scottish history may have been,—will contemplate without absolute wonder the view of society which they unveil; or find it easy to comprehend how a system, subject to such severe concussions in every part, contrived, nevertheless, to hold itself together. The whole nation would seem to have spent their time, as one malefactor expressed it, 'in drinking deep and taking deadly revenge for slight offences.'"⁵ That the judges themselves, if not exposed to the fury of the more lawless part of their countrymen from the unpopular nature of their office, were not at least exempted from it by its sacred character, the subsequent part of this sketch will sufficiently show.

Setting out of the question the calamitous nature of Sir Richard Maitland's malady, and his country's loss from being deprived of his more active services, his blindness may be supposed to have contributed much to his peace of mind. The transactions of this unhappy period,—the murder of Darnley,—the queen's marriage with Bothwell, and all the subsequent events of the different regencies, are too well known to require notice here. But although the venerable knight did not engage in these transactions, he was not spared the pain of having his lands ravaged, and his property forcibly kept from him. His lands of Blythe were overrun by the border robbers,⁶ as we know by his poem, entitled "The Blind Baronis Comfort," in which he consoles himself for his wrongs, and puns upon the name:—

Blynd man, be *blyth*, althocht that thow be wrangit;
Thocht *Blythe* be herreit, tak no melancholie.

Happy indeed must have been the man who, dismissing from his mind the misfortunes of his lot, could devote it to the pursuits of literature; and who, estimating the good things of this world at their real value, could at the same time cultivate the temper here exhibited.

It seems to have been about the same time that the king's party took possession of the castle of Lethington, which had been the temporary abode of the

⁵ See Quarterly Review, No. 88, p. 470.

⁶ This was not the first time that his property had been destroyed or carried off. "Wpoun the xiiij day" of September, 1549, "the Inglismen past out of Haddingtoun, and brunt it and Leidingtoun, and passed away without any battell, for the pest and hunger was rycht evill amongis tham, quha mycht remayne na langer thairin." Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, printed by the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, p. 48.

secretary Maitland, and a ready justification of this violent measure was found in the conduct of that statesman. After the death of the son, the enmity of the regent Morton was transferred to the aged and unoffending father, and his house and lands were still violently withheld from him. Although Sir Richard appears to have requested the intercession of the English court, and for that purpose to have transmitted a representation to lord Burleigh, the queen, with her usual crafty and cautious policy in regard to Scottish affairs, did not interfere: the document is thus marked—"This must be well considered before any thing is done." It was not, therefore, till the fall of Morton, that the worthy knight obtained restoration of his lands. He did not, however, droop into despondency during the long period of eleven years that he was thus "wringit." In that period his poem of "Solace in Aige" is believed to have been written. It concludes thus:—

Thocht I be sweir to ryd or gang,
 Thair is sumthing I've wantit lang,
 Fain have I wald
 Thaim punysit that did me wrang,
 Thocht I be auld.

Some attempt seems to have been made by Sir Richard to obtain compensation at least for his losses. There is extant a list of "the guidis tane frae y^e ald laird of Lethingtoun of his awin proper geir forthe of Blythe and y^e Twllosws;" but it is to be feared that his endeavours were unsuccessful. At a later period of his life, he renewed his application for compensation; and, although he obtained an act of parliament, recognizing his claims, and rescinding an act made in favour of captain David Hume of Fishwick, who had possessed Lethington, and intromitted with the rents of that estate, the benignity of his temper warrants our supposing, in the absence of historical evidence, that he did not pursue his rights with any violent or revengeful feelings.

The age and infirmities of Sir Richard now appear to have incapacitated him in a great measure for the performance of his duties as a judge. Throughout his career the conduct of his brother judges towards him was marked by the utmost kindness and sympathy for his distressing malady. As early as January, 1561, they had ordered the macers "to suffer one of the old laird of Lethingtoun's sones to come in within all the barres as oy^r pro^r. doe, and to issue as they doe, for awaiting on his father for the notoriety of his father's infirmity," and he now (3d of December 1583,) obtained leave to attend court only when he pleased, with the assurance that he "should lose no part of the contribution in consequence of absence." In May 1584, he was further exempted from the examination of witnesses, "provyding he cause his sone (Thirlstane), or his goodson the laird of Whittingham, use the utter tolebooth for him in calling of matters, and reporting the interloquitors as use is." When he was at last under the necessity of retiring altogether from the bench, it was under circumstances which no less strongly show the public estimation of his character. He was allowed the privilege of nominating his successor,—a privilege of the extension of which lord Pitmedden considers this as the first instance. Accordingly on the 1st of July, 1584, he resigned in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, being now, as his majesty's letter to the court expresses, "sa debilitat that he is not able to mak sic continual residens as he wald give, and being movit in conscience that, be his absence, for laik of number justice may be retardit and parteis frustrat." At length, after a life, certainly not without its troubles, but supported throughout by the answer of a good conscience and by

much natural hilarity, he closed his days on the 20th of March, 1586, at the venerable age of ninety. Living in an age, marked, perhaps more strongly than any other in our history, by treachery and every vice which can debase mankind, he lived uncontaminated by the moral atmosphere by which he was surrounded, and has had the happiness,—certainly not the lot of every good man,—of being uniformly noticed, whether by friends or enemies, by his contemporaries or by posterity, with the highest respect. There is but one exception to this general tribute to his virtues,—the accusation in John Knox's History, of his having been bribed to allow cardinal Beaton to escape from imprisonment. The truth of this accusation, it has been already shown, is, to say the least, very questionable, and it is contained in a work, which, while it may have been written with every disposition to candour, too often exhibits the keenness of its author's temper.

The works of Sir Richard Maitland exhibit him in the characters of a lawyer, a poet, and an historian. Of the work belonging to the first of these classes it is only necessary to say, that it consists of "Decisions from the 15th December 1550, to the penult July 1565;" being a continuation of the body of decisions known by the title of Sinclair's Practicks, and that a copy of it, with the additions of the viscount Kingston, is preserved in MS. in the library of the Faculty of Advocates. His poetical collections consist of two kinds,—those works which were merely collected by him, and specimens of which have long been before the public,—and his own poems, the greater portion of which have not been printed till a very late date.

If it be true, as has been often asserted, that the habits and feelings of a people are best known by their poetry, surely the collectors in that department of a nation's literature are entitled to no inconsiderable portion of its gratitude. The labours of Asloan, Maitland, and Bannatyne have especial claims on our attention, as in them are to be found nearly all that remains of the Scottish poetry composed before their times. Of the first, John Asloan,—whose collections are preserved in the Auchinleck library, but unfortunately in a mutilated state,—little or nothing can be ascertained; and of George Bannatyne a notice has already been given in this work. Our attention must therefore be directed to the collections of the subject of this memoir.

Sir Richard Maitland appears to have been engaged in forming his collections of poetry before he became blind,—probably about the year 1555,—and although one of the volumes is dated 1585, it is conjectured that it was the arrangement of them only that could have been the work of his later years. The collections consist of two volumes,—a folio, comprehending 176 articles, and a quarto of 96 pieces; the latter in the handwriting of Mary Maitland, Sir Richard's daughter. They are now preserved in the Pepysian library, Magdalene college, Cambridge; but, from the regulations prescribed by the founder of that institution, they cannot be consulted except within its walls, and although its officers afford every facility which their duty permits, it must be a subject of regret to every lover of Scottish poetry that they are not in a more accessible situation. It is true, indeed, that in 1784 or 1785, the late Mr Pinkerton was furnished by Dr Peckhard with all the means of consulting them with advantage, and that he published selections from them in his *Ancient Scottish Poems*; but the charges of interpolation which have been brought against him, must make his work a subject of doubt and suspicion.

Sir Richard Maitland did not produce any of his own poems at the period when ardour of mind or ambition for distinction may be supposed to prompt men to enter that walk of literature. They were all written after his sixtieth year. They are the tranquil productions of age, and of a mind regulated by

the purest principles. The subjects, too, correspond with the age at which they were written,—most of them being of a moral or historical description. By far the most frequent subjects of his poems are lamentations for the distracted state of his native country,—the feuds of the nobles,—the discontents of the common people,—complaints “Aganis the lang proces in the courts of justice,”—“The evillis of new found lawis,” and the depredations “Of the border robbers.” Not the least interesting of his productions—are those which he entitles *Satyres*: one of these, on “The Town Ladyes,” in particular presents us with a most curious picture of the habits and dispositions of the fair sex in his day, and amply demonstrates that the desire of aping the appearance and manners of the higher ranks is by no means the peculiar offspring of our degenerate age. Sir Richard’s poetical writings were for the first time printed in an entire and distinct form, in 1830, (in one 4to volume) by the Maitland Club, a society of literary antiquaries, taking its name from this distinguished collector of early Scottish poetry.

It may probably be unknown to most of our readers, that a poet from whose mortal sight the book of knowledge was no less shut out than from the eye of the poet of *Paradise Lost*, has also written a poem on the subject of—

—Man’s first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woe.

Except in the subject, however, there is no resemblance between the *Paradise Lost* of Milton and Sir Richard Maitland’s “Ballat of the Creatioun of the World, Man his Fall and Redemptioun.” From the latter poem, the following passages are selected:—

God be his Word his wark began,
To forme the erth and hevin for man,
The sie and watter deip;
The sone, the mune, the starris bricht,
The day divydit frome the nicht,
Thair coursis for to keip;
The beistis that on the grund do mufe,
And fische in to the sie,
Fowlis in the air to fle abufe,
Off ilk kind creat hee;
Sum creeping, sum fleiting
Sum fleing in the air,
So leichtly, so lichtly,
In moving heir and thair.

The workis of grit magnificence,
Perfytet be his providence,
According to his will;
Nixt maid he man; to gif him gloir,
Did with his ymage him decoir,
Gaif paradise him till;
Into that garding hevinly wrocht,
With plesouris mony one;
The beistis of every kynd war brocht,
Thair names he sowld expone;

Thame nemming and kennyng,
 As he list for to call;
 For pleising and eising
 Of man, subdewit thame all.

In hevinly joy man so pessest,
 To be allone God thoct not best,
 Maid Eve to be his maik;
 Bad thame inecress and multiplie;
 And eit of every fruit and trie,
 Thair plesour thay sowld taik,
 Except the trie of gud and ill,
 That in the middis dois stand;
 Forbad that thay sowld cum it till,
 Or twiche it with thair hand;
 Leist plucking or lucking,
 Baith thay and als thair seir,
 Seveirly, awsteirly,
 Sowld dye without remeid.

The poem thus concludes:—

Behald the stait that man was in,
 And als how it he tynt throw sin,
 And loist the same for ay;
 Yit God his pomeiss dois performe,
 Send his Sene of the Virgeny horne,
 Oure ransome for to pay
 To that grit God let us gif gloir,
 To us has bene so gude,
 Quha be his death did us restoir,
 Quhairof we war denude;
 Nocht karing nor sparin;
 His body to be rent,
 Redemyng, relieving,
 Ws quhen we war idl schent.

The historical writings of Sir Richard Maitland were the productions of an earlier period than his poems. The principal historical work of Sir Richard that has come down to us, is "The Historie and Cronicle of the Hous and Surname of Seytoun, to the moneth of November, in the yeir of God, Jm. Vc. lix. yeiris; collectit, gaderit, and set furth be Schir Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knycht, Tochteris Sonn of the said Hous." This work was printed in 1829 for the Maitland Club. Another of his works bears the following title: "Heir followis ane Brief and Compendious Tabill or Catholog of the Names of the Kingis of Scotland, France, and England, with the dait of thair Reignis; togidder with the Successioun of King Malcolme Cainmoir, and of all Kingis of Scotland sensyn, to the dait heirof; quham thay Mareit; quhat Successioun they had; with quham they war Allyat. Collectit, gatherit, and set furth be Sr. Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knyt. The yeir of God, Jm. Vc. and three scoir yeiris, the xliij day of the moinethe of October."

By his wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Cranston of Corsby, Sir Richard Maitland had a numerous family. It is said that he had seven sons, three of whom, William, John, and Thomas, rose to eminence—and four daughters—Helen, married to John Cockburn of Clerkington; Margaret, to William Douglas of Whittingham; Mary, to Alexander Lauder of Hatton; and Isabel, to James Heriot of Trabroun.

MAITLAND, WILLIAM, an antiquarian writer of some note, is generally represented as having been born at Brechin in the year 1693, though there is reason to suppose the date of his birth to have been somewhat earlier. He does not appear in his writings to have been a man of liberal education. His first employment was that of a hair merchant; in the prosecution of which business, he travelled into Sweden and Denmark, to Hamburg, and other places, and appears to have realized considerable wealth. At length he settled in London, and applied himself to the study of English and Scottish antiquities. In 1733, he was elected a member of the Royal, and in 1735, a fellow of the Antiquarian Society, which latter honour he resigned in 1740, on going to reside in the country. His first publication was his *History of London*, which appeared in 1739, and was chiefly valuable for a reason little creditable to the author,—namely, its being in a great measure a reduction of the ancient and scarce work of Stow. In 1740, he retired to Scotland; and in 1753, published his “*History of Edinburgh*,” which is by far the most useful and creditable of all his works. He was not here assisted to any considerable degree by preceding authorities: the volume is chiefly compiled from original documents, and must have been accordingly a work of very great labour. In point of composition, it is very deficient. The style is mean, and the whole tone of the work that of a plain, dull old man. It also bears in some parts the traces of credulity and narrowness of understanding on the part of the author. As a compilation of facts, it is, nevertheless, very valuable. In 1757, Maitland published a “*History of Scotland*,” in two volumes folio, a work absolutely destitute of reputation. He died at Montrose, July 16, 1757, “at an advanced age,” say the obituary notices, and possessed of above £10,000.

MALCOLM, (Sir) JOHN, a distinguished soldier and diplomatist, was born on the farm of Burnfoot, near Langholm, on the 2nd of May, 1769. This farm was granted to the paternal grandfather of Sir John, at a low rent, by the earl of Dalkeith, in 1707; it subsequently became the residence of George Malcolm, the father of Sir John, who married Miss Pasley, daughter of James Pasley, Esq. of Craig and Burn, by whom he had seventeen children, fifteen surviving to maturity. Of these children, three attained to a high station and title; namely, Sir Pulteney, vice-admiral, R. N.; Sir James, lieutenant-colonel of marines; both of whom are Knight Companions of the Bath; and the subject of this memoir. The farm is still in possession of the family.

Sir John Malcolm entered life in 1782, as a cadet in the service of the East India Company; and a part of his success is to be ascribed to the zeal with which he applied himself at first to study the manners and languages of the east. Having distinguished himself at the siege of Seringapatam in 1792, he was appointed by lord Cornwallis to the situation of Persian interpreter to an English force serving with a native prince. In 1795, on his return from a short visit to his native country, on account of his health, he performed some useful services in general Clarke's expedition at the Cape of Good Hope, for which he received the thanks of the Madras government, and was appointed secretary to the commander-in-chief. In 1797, he was made captain; and from that time to 1799, he was engaged in a variety of important services, terminating at the fall of Seringapatam, where he highly distinguished himself. He was then appointed joint secretary with captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro, to the commissioners for settling the new government of Mysore. In the same year, he was selected by Lord Wellesley to proceed on a diplomatic mission to Persia, where he concluded two treaties of great importance, one political, and the other commercial; returning to Bombay in May, 1801. His services were acknowledged by his being appointed private secretary to the governor-general. In

January, 1802, he was raised to the rank of major; and on the occasion of the Persian ambassador being accidentally shot at Bombay, he was again entrusted with a mission to that empire, in order to make the requisite arrangements for the renewal of the embassy, which he accomplished in a manner that afforded the highest satisfaction to the Company. In January, 1803, he was nominated to the presidency of Mysore, and to act without special instructions; and in December, 1804, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In the June of the following year, he was appointed chief agent of the governor-general, and he continued to serve in that capacity until March, 1806, having successfully concluded several very important treaties during that period.

Upon the arrival in India, in April, 1808, of the new governor-general, lord Minto, colonel Malcolm was sent by his lordship to the court of Persia on a very important mission—that of endeavouring to counteract the designs of Bonaparte, then in the zenith of his power, who threatened an invasion of India by way of Persia, supported by the Persian and Turkish governments. In this difficult embassy, colonel Malcolm did not wholly succeed. He returned to Calcutta in the following August, and soon afterwards proceeded to his residence at Mysore, after having, to use the words of lord Minto, “laid the government under additional obligations to his zeal and ability.” Early in the year 1810, he was again selected to proceed in a diplomatic capacity to the court of Persia, whence he returned upon the appointment of Sir Gore Ouseley, as ambassador. So favourable was the impression which he made, on this occasion, on the Persian prince, that he was presented by him with a valuable sword and star, and, at the same time, made a khan and sepahdar of the empire; to that impression, indeed, may be ascribed much of the good understanding, both in a political and commercial point of view, which now so happily subsists between this country and Persia. During this embassy, while at Bagdad, colonel Malcolm transmitted to the government of Bengal his final report of the affairs of Persia—a document so highly appreciated, that the government acknowledged its receipt to the secret committee in terms of unqualified praise.

In 1812, colonel Malcolm again visited his native shores. He was received by the court of directors of the East India Company, with the deepest regard and acknowledgment of his merits; and shortly afterwards he received the honour of knighthood. He returned to India in 1816, and soon became engaged in extensive political and military duties; he was attached, as political agent of the governor-general, to the force under lieutenant-general Sir T. Hislop, and appointed to command the third division of the army, with which, after taking Talym by surprise, he acted a prominent part in the celebrated battle of Mehidpoor, when the army under Mulhar Rao Holkar was completely beaten, and put to rout. His skill and valour on this occasion were the theme of general admiration. A vote of thanks was awarded him, on the proposal of Mr Canning, by the house of commons; and the prince regent expressed his regret that the circumstance of his not having attained the rank of major-general prevented his creating him a knight grand cross. The intention of his royal highness to do so was, nevertheless, recorded, and in 1821 he accordingly received the highest honour which a soldier can receive from his sovereign. After the termination of the war with the Maharattas and Pindarees, to which colonel Malcolm's services had eminently contributed, he was employed by lord Hastings in visiting and settling the distracted territories of Mulhar Rao, which, and other services, he accomplished in a most satisfactory manner, gaining to British India a large accession of territory and treasure.

At the end of the year 1821, he resolved to return once more to England; on which occasion the general orders contained the following paragraph:—

“ Although his excellency the governor-general in council refrains from the specific mention of the many recorded services which have placed Sir John Malcolm in the first rank of those officers of the Honourable Company's service, who have essentially contributed to the renown of the British arms and counsels in India, his lordship cannot omit this opportunity of declaring his unqualified approbation of the manner in which Sir John Malcolm has discharged the arduous and important functions of his high political and military station in Malwah. By a happy combination of qualities, which could not fail to earn the esteem and confidence, both of his own countrymen and of the native inhabitants of all classes, by the unremitting personal exertion and devotion of his time and leisure to the maintenance of the interests confided to his charge, and by an enviable talent for inspiring all who acted under his orders with his own energy and zeal. Sir John Malcolm has been enabled, in the successful performance of the duty assigned to him, in the Mulwah, to surmount difficulties of no ordinary stamp, and to lay the foundations of repose and prosperity in that extensive province, but recently reclaimed from a state of savage anarchy, and a prey to every species of rapine and devastation. The governor-general in council feels assured that the important services thus rendered to his country by Sir John Malcolm, at the close of an active and distinguished career, will be not less gratefully acknowledged by the authorities at home, than they are cordially applauded by those under whose immediate orders they have been performed.”

Sir John returned to England in April, 1822, with the rank of major-general, and soon after he was presented by those who had acted under him in the war of 1818 and 1819, with a superb vase of the value of £1500. During this visit to England, Sir John received a proud testimony of the favour of the East India Company, and acknowledgment of the utility of his public career, in a grant, passed unanimously by a general court of proprietors, of a thousand pounds per annum, in consideration of his distinguished merits and services.

Sir John had quitted India with the determination to spend the evening of his life in his native country; but the solicitations of the court of directors, and of his majesty's ministers for India affairs, induced him again to embark in the service of his country, where experience had so fully qualified him to act with advantage. In July, 1827, he was appointed to the high and responsible situation of governor of Bombay, which post he continued to fill until 1831, when he finally returned to England, having effected, during the few years of his governorship, incalculable benefits both for this country, our Indian territories, and every class of the inhabitants there. Upon his leaving Bombay, the different bodies of the people seemed to vie with each other in giving proofs of the esteem and high consideration in which he was held. The principal European gentlemen of Bombay requested Sir John to sit for his statue, since executed by Chantrey, to be erected in Bombay; the members of the Asiatic Society requested a bust of him, to be placed in their library; the native gentlemen of Bombay solicited his portrait, to be placed in their public room; the East India Amelioration Society voted him a service of plate; the natives, both of the presidency and the provinces addressed him as their friend and benefactor; and the United Society of Missionaries, including English, Scottish, and Americans, acknowledged with gratitude the aids they had received from him in the prosecution of their pious labours, and their deep sense of his successful endeavours to promote the interests of truth and humanity, with the welfare and prosperity of his country and his countrymen. These were apt and gratifying incidents in the closing scene of his long and arduous services in our Indian empire. But, whether at home or abroad, all parties who knew any thing of his career concurred in awarding him the highest praises, both as a civil, mili-

tary, and political character; and the brief encomium of Mr Canning in parliament, that he was "a gallant officer, whose name would be remembered in India as long as the British flag is hoisted in that country," is only in accordance with the universal opinion of his merits.

Shortly after Sir John's arrival in England in 1831, he was returned to parliament for the burgh of Launceston, and took an active part in the proceedings upon several important questions, particularly the Scottish reform bill, which he warmly opposed. He frequently addressed the house at length; and his speeches were characterized by an intimate knowledge of the history and constitution of his country, by a happy arrangement, and much elegance of expression. Upon the dissolution of parliament in 1832, Sir John became a candidate for the Dumfries district of burghs; but being too late in entering the field, and finding a majority of the electors had promised their votes, he did not persevere. He was then solicited to become a candidate for the city of Carlisle, and complied; but having been too late in coming forward, and being personally unknown in the place, the result of the first day's poll decided the election against him. Sir John then retired to his seat near Windsor, and employed himself in writing a work upon the government of India, with the view of elucidating the difficult questions relating to the renewal of the East India Company's charter. One of his last public acts was an able speech in the general court of proprietors of East India Stock, and the introduction of certain resolutions relative to the proposals of government respecting the charter—which resolutions were, after several adjourned discussions, adopted by a large majority. His last public address was at a meeting in the Thatched House Tavern, for the purpose of forming a subscription to buy up the mansion of Sir Walter Scott for his family; and on that occasion, his concluding sentiment was, "that when he was gone, his son might be proud to say, that his father had been among the contributors to that shrine of genius." On the day following he was struck with paralysis, the disorder which had just carried off the illustrious person on whose account this address had been made. His death took place in Prince's Street, Hanover Square, London, on the 31st of May, 1833.

As an author, the name of Sir John Malcolm will occupy no mean place in the annals of British literature. His principal works are—*A Sketch of the Sikhs*, a singular nation in the province of the Penjamb, in India; *The History of Persia*, from the earliest period to the present time; *Sketches of Persia*; *A Memoir of Central India*; and his treatise on the Administration of British India, which was published only a few weeks before his death. Sir John had also been engaged for some time in writing a life of lord Clive, whose papers had been entrusted to him for publication.

Sir John married, on the 4th of June, 1807, Charlotte Campbell, daughter of Sir Alexander Campbell, baronet, who was commander-in-chief at Madras, by whom he left five children, viz:—Margaret, married to her cousin, the present Sir Alexander Campbell; George Alexander, a captain in the Guards; Charlotte Olympia; Anne Amelia; and Catharine Wellesley.

Upon the public character of Sir John Malcolm it would be superfluous to pass any lengthened eulogium in this place, since that character is so forcibly and faithfully sketched in the facts we have just recorded. Let it suffice to say, that he was a true patriot; that the chief end and aim of his public life was to advance the prosperity of his country—to promote the condition of every class of his fellow creatures. Such is the conclusion which the records of his life enable us to draw; and his private character was in perfect keeping with it: he was warmly attached to his kindred and connexions; as a friend, he was

constant and devoted ; and all his social qualities might be said to “ lean to virtue’s side.” Last, though not least of all, he was a sincere and devout Christian ; and in every part of the world where it was his fortune to be placed, and under whatever circumstances, he never shrunk from any opportunity of evincing his deep regard for the religion of his country.

MALLET, DAVID, a poet and miscellaneous writer, is said to have been a descendant of the clan Macgregor, so well known for its crimes, and persecution. When that unhappy race were proscribed by a solemn act of state, an ancestor of the poet escaped to the lowlands, and assumed the fictitious name of Malloch. James Malloch, the father of the poet, kept a small public house at Crieff, on the borders of the Highlands, where it is supposed that David was born, about the year 1700. Of his career from youth to manhood, nothing certain is known, nor whence he first derived his education, as, in after life, either through pride or prejudice, he studiously endeavoured to conceal his true name and origin.

Having studied for a time under Mr Ker, a professor in Aberdeen, he, it appears, removed to Edinburgh, where he was, in 1720, employed in the station of tutor to the children of a Mr Home ; he at the same time attended the university of that city. He had while at Aberdeen early exercised himself in poetical composition ; and a pastoral and some other small pieces which he wrote about this period, attracted the notice of many of the Scottish literati, by whom he was kindly sought after. Finding his situation in Mr Home’s family by no means agreeable, being treated, it is said, with great illiberality, he anxiously sought to change it, and was so fortunate as to be recommended by the professors of the college to the duke of Montrose, who wanted a fit person to be tutor to his two sons, who were then going to Winchester. It is obvious that he must have conducted himself while at college with uncommon zeal and propriety, as nothing but superior ability could have procured for a youth so humbly connected, so marked a preference over the rest of his fellow students. He was most kindly received in his grace’s family ; and, on coming to London in the winter, attended his noble pupils to most places of public amusement, and still further improved himself in polite literature, and a knowledge of the world.

Malloch accompanied his noble pupils to the continent, and made what is usually called the grand tour. On their return to London, he still continued to reside with that illustrious family, where, from his advantageous station, he got by degrees introduced to the most polished circle of society. In 1723, in a periodical work of Aaron Hill’s, called the Plain Dealer, No. 36, Malloch’s pleasing ballad of William and Margaret first appeared. The beauty of the production was so highly praised, that it inspired him with courage to apply himself closely to his poetical studies, which he had for some time neglected. “ Of this poem,” says Dr Johnson, “ he has been envied the reputation ; and plagiarism has been boldly charged, but never proved,”—though “ in its original state it was very different from what it is in the latter edition of his works.” It is, however, evident that the idea of the ballad was taken from two much older ones, namely, William’s Ghaist, and Fair Margaret. From these he borrowed largely, both in sentiment and expression. Still, notwithstanding all traces of imitation, as a modern biographer truly observes, “ there is enough of Mallet’s own in the ballad of William and Margaret, to justify all the poetical reputation which it procured for its author.” The fame so justly acquired by his illustrious countryman, Thomson, whose friendship he had the honour to enjoy, stimulated him to imitate his style ; and, in 1728, he produced a poem under the title of the Excursion. It is a collection of

poetical landscapes, sketched with some skill and elegance, in imitation of the Seasons, but much inferior in strength and sublimity. About this time he adopted the foolish conceit of changing his name from *Malloch* to Mallet, to conceal from common observation his country and origin; having, as Dr Johnson satirically remarks, "by degrees cleared his tongue from his native pronunciation, so as to be no longer distinguished as a Scot, he seemed inclined to disincumber himself from all adherences of his original, and took upon him to change his name from Scotch *Malloch* to English *Mallet*, without any imaginable reason of preference which the eye or ear can discover."

Mallet next produced a tragedy, called *Eurydice*, which he had planned some years before: it was first brought on the stage in 1737, and met with no very flattering reception. Garrick, several years afterwards, when Mallet enjoyed both fame and fortune, again introduced *Eurydice* to the public; but not even the talents of that unrivalled actor, assisted by the celebrated Mrs Cibber, could make it be tolerated for any length of time. Though so ably supported in the principal parts, so gross was the egotism of Mallet, that, as Davies tells us, he sat all the time in the orchestra, and bestowed his execrations plentifully on the players, to whom he entirely attributed the bad success of the piece.

Mallet now left the family of the duke of Montrose, and went to reside with a Mr Knight at Gosfield, probably as a teacher; but still he had made an impression, and enjoyed the esteem of the first literary characters of the day. There is a remarkable letter extant, from Pope to Mr Knight, in which he speaks of Mallet in the following affectionate terms:—"To prove to you how little essential to friendship I hold letter-writing—I have not yet written to Mr Mallet, whom I love and esteem greatly; nay, whom I know to have as tender a heart, and that feels a remembrance as long as any man." With what heartless ingratitude Mallet returned this noble expression of confident esteem, will be seen afterwards. Proud in the first instance of being honoured by the particular regard of so eminent a poet, he servilely employed his pen, by attacking Bentley, to please Pope, whose ridicule of critics and commentators he echoed in a poem, published in 1733, entitled *Verbal Criticism*. It is stuffed, as Bentley observes, "with illiberal cant about pedantry and collections of manuscripts. Real scholars will always speak with due regard of such names as the Scaligers, Salmasiuses, Heinsiuses, Burmans, Gronoviuses, Reiskiuses, Marklands, Gesners, and Heynes." Dr Johnson considered the versification above mediocrity, which is all that can be said in its praise. About this time, Frederick, prince of Wales, being at variance with his father, kept what was considered an opposition court, where he affected the patronage of men of letters, with the hope of adding to his popularity. Mallet, through the recommendation of his friends, had the good fortune to be appointed under-secretary to his royal highness, with a salary of £200 a-year. "He attended the prince of Orange to Oxford in 1734, and presented to him a copy of verses, written in the name of the university; on which occasion he was admitted to the degree of M.A. Had then the Oxford muses lost their voice? or did he assume a fictitious character, for the purpose of spontaneous adulation? The circumstance is certainly extraordinary." In 1739, he published his tragedy of *Mustapha*: it was brought on the stage under the patronage of the prince of Wales, to whom it was dedicated. The first representation of the piece is said to have been honoured with the presence of all the leading members of the opposition. The characters of Solyman the Magnificent, and Rustan his Vizier, were generally supposed to glance at the king and Sir Robert Walpole; notwithstanding which, it was licensed by the lord chamberlain, and performed with much applause to crowded houses. But in proportion as the public mind was diverted by

the appearance of another set of political actors than those to whom the play was said to refer, it lost its only attraction, and sunk with his *Eurydice* into oblivion, whence neither is likely to be ever called forth. In the following year, Mallet wrote, in conjunction with Thomson, by command of the prince, the masque of "*Alfred*," in honour of the birth-day of his eldest daughter, the princess Augusta. It was first acted in the gardens of Clifden, by a set of performers brought from London for the express purpose; and after Thomson's death, Mallet revised it for Drury Lane theatre, where it had, with the aid of music and splendid scenery, a run for a short time.

The same year he published his principal prose work, the *Life of Lord Bacon*, prefixed to a new edition of the works of that illustrious person. In point of style, it may be considered as an elegant and judicious piece of biography, but nothing more. To develop the vast treasures stored in the mighty intellect of Bacon, was a task to which the best intellects of that and a succeeding age would have failed to do justice. Of Mallet's performance, Dr Johnson merely says, that "it is known as appended to Bacon's volumes, but is no longer mentioned."

In 1742, Mallet made a considerable addition to his fortune by marriage. He had already buried one wife, by whom he had several children; but of her there is little or no account. His second choice was Miss Lucy Estob, the daughter of the earl of Carlisle's steward, with whom he received a portion of £10,000. From his various sources of income, Mallet may be considered as one of the most fortunate worshippers of the Muses in his day, and hence, becoming either indifferent or lazy, he allowed seven years to pass over without favouring the public with any thing from his pen. When at length his *Hermit*, or *Amyntor and Theodora*, appeared, critics were much divided in their opinions of its merits. Dr Warton, in his *Essay on the Life and Writings of Pope*, says it "exhibits a nauseous affectation, expressing every thing pompously and poetically," while Dr Johnson praises it for "copiousness and elegance of language, vigour of sentiment, and imagery well adapted to take possession of the fancy." Up to this period the character of Mallet stood deservedly high with the public as an author, but we now come to a part of his history when he drew down upon his head the severe but just censure of all honourable men.

Pope, who honoured Mallet with his friendship at a time when a favourable word from the bard of Twickenham was sufficient to advance the interests of any genius, however depressed by obscurity, had now introduced Mallet to lord Bolingbroke, at the time when the *Patriot King* was first written by his lordship. Only seven copies were printed, and given to some particular friends of the author, including Pope, with a positive injunction against publication, Bolingbroke assigning as a reason that the work was not finished in a style sufficiently to his satisfaction before he would consent to let it go forth to the world. Pope obliged his friend Mr Ralph Allen of Prior Park, near Bath, with the loan of his copy, stating to him at the same time the injunction of lord Bolingbroke; but that gentleman was so delighted with the work, that he pressed Pope to allow him to print a limited impression at his own cost, promising at the same time to observe the strictest caution, and not to permit a single copy to get into the hands of any individual until the consent of the author could be obtained. Under this condition Pope consented, and an edition was printed, packed up, and deposited in a wareroom, of which Pope received the key. There it remained until, by the untimely death of Pope, the transaction came to the knowledge of lord Bolingbroke, who felt or affected to feel, the highest indignation at what he called Pope's breach of faith. Mallet,

it was generally believed at the time, was the person who informed his lordship of the transaction, but it has never been sufficiently proved that he was the unworthy author. The late Mr George Rose, to whom all the particulars of the story were related by the earl of Marchmont, the intimate friend of Bolingbroke, gives us an account of the discovery which clears Mallet of all blame. "On the circumstance," he says, "being made known to lord Bolingbroke, who was then a guest in his own house at Battersea with lord Marchmont, to whom he had lent it for two or three years, his lordship was in great indignation; to appease which, lord Marchmont sent Mr Grevinkop to bring out the whole edition, of which a bonfire was instantly made on the Terrace at Battersea." This, however, did not by any means appease his lordship's angry feelings. He determined on revising and publishing the work himself, and employed Mallet to write a preface, in which the part that Pope had acted was to be set forth to the world in the blackest and falsest colours possible. To the lasting disgrace of his character, he was found ready to stoop to so vile and dishonourable a task. It would be vain to seek for any palliation of such egregious turpitude. He was rich, and placed beyond the craving temptation of lending himself to any one, however high in rank or interest, to defile his pen by so unworthy a task. But no compunctious visiting of honour ever once stayed his hand, or prevented him from heaping the most malignant abuse upon his departed friend, for an affair in which, it is evident, there was nothing dishonourable intended, either on the part of Pope or Allen. Every fact that could tend to exonerate Mr Pope, particularly the share his friend had in the business, and the careful suppression of the copies until Bolingbroke's permission for their publication could be procured is studiously concealed. "How far Mallet was acquainted with all these circumstances we cannot pretend to affirm." Nor need any one care about the proportions in which they divide the infamy between them.

The unmitigated resentment of lord Bolingbroke, for the evidently unintentional error of a friend whom he almost worshipped while living, is endeavoured to be accounted for by the preference Pope gave to Warburton, whom Bolingbroke could never endure. Be that as it may; if true, it only proves the meanness of his lordship's character, and how much mistaken Pope was in the man whose name he embalmed within his deathless page, as a pattern for the most exalted and disinterested friendship. But though such may have been his lordship's feelings, pride must have made him conceal the true cause from Mallet, who had nothing but the sordid temptation of a ready hireling to incite him to the odious task. He was rewarded for this service at the death of lord Bolingbroke, by the bequest of his lordship's works, with the care and profit of those already published, as well as all his manuscripts.

Mallet, who cared as little for the fame or character of his noble benefactor as he did for the illustrious friend he was hired to traduce, with the true spirit of avarice, raked up every scrap of Bolingbroke's writings for publication, without in the least discriminating what ought to be suppressed, though many of the papers contained the most offensive doctrines, subversive of sound morals and revealed religion; the consequence was, that his hopes of gain were very properly frustrated by a presentiment which arose from a decision of the grand jury of Westminster, stopping the obnoxious works. This must have sorely affected him, for, before the publication of the five vols. 4to, in 1754, he was offered, by one Millar, a bookseller, £3000 for his copyright, which he refused. After all, the sale was so extremely slow, that it took upwards of twenty years to dispose of the first edition, though assisted by the notoriety of the prosecution of the work. He next appears as an author in, if possible, a more odious

light. The disastrous affair of Minorca, at the commencement of the war of 1756, had rendered the ministry unpopular. Mallet was employed to divert the public odium, and turn it upon the unfortunate Admiral Byng. For this purpose he wrote a paper under the character of A Plain Man, in which the disgrace brought upon the British arms in the affair of Minorca, was entirely imputed to the cowardice of the admiral. It was circulated with great industry. How cruelly it effected its purpose need not be told. Byng is now universally considered to have been offered up as a victim to the popular clamour which was thus raised against him, rather than any actual demerit in his conduct. "The price of blood," says Dr Johnson, with fearful but just severity, "was a pension which Mallet retained till his death." He continued to exercise his talent for poetical composition, and published a collection of his works, dedicated to great patrons. At the beginning of the reign of George III., when lord Bute was placed in power, Mallet, who never let an opportunity slip for serving his own interests, enlisted under the ministerial banners, and offered a two-fold service to the cause, by his *Truth in Rhyme*, and a tragedy called *Elvira*, imitated from *La Motte*, and applicable to the politics of the day. His reward was, the place of keeper of the book of entries for the port of London. The *Critical Review* of that period praised the tragedy in the highest degree; but it is asserted that Mallet had the superintendence of that publication, and was the critic of his own works. On the death of the celebrated duchess of Marlborough, in 1744, it was found by her will, that she left to Mr Glover, the author of *Leonidas*, and Mr Mallet, jointly, the sum of £1,000, on condition that they drew up, from the family papers, a *History of the Life of the Great Duke*. The legacy, however, was found to be clogged with so many unpleasant restrictions, that Glover, with the true independence of a man of genius, declined any share in the onerous task. Mallet, who never was troubled by any misgiving of conscience, accepted the legacy, under all stipulations, and was put in possession of the papers necessary for proceeding with the work. The second duke of Marlborough, in order to stimulate his industry, added, in the most liberal manner, an annual pension to the legacy. Mallet pretended all along, that he was deeply engaged in forwarding the work for publication, and in a dedication to his Grace, of a collection of his poems, he spoke of having seen the honour of dedicating to him the life of his illustrious predecessor. But, on the death of Mallet, not a vestige of any such work could be found, nor did it appear, that, after all the money he had received, he had even written a line of it. While he continued to delude his patron and friends, with the expectation of seeing his great work appear, he made the imposition subservient to his interest in many ways. In a familiar conversation with Garrick, and boasting of the diligence which he was then exerting upon the *Life of Marlborough*, he hinted, that in the series of great men quickly to be exhibited, he should find a niche for the hero of the theatre. Garrick professed to wonder by what artifice he could be introduced, but Mallet let him know, that by a dexterous anticipation, he should fix him in a conspicuous place. "Mr Mallet," says Garrick, in his gratitude of exultation, "have you left off to write for the stage?" Mallet then confessed that he had a drama in his hands—Garrick promised to act it, and *Alfred* was produced.

Mallet, finding his health in a declining state, went, accompanied by his wife, to the south of France, for the benefit of a change of air, but after some time, finding no improvement, he returned to England, where he died on the 21st April, 1765. Dr Johnson says, "His stature was diminutive, but he was regularly formed. His appearance, till he grew corpulent, was agreeable, and he suffered it to want no recommendation that dress could give it." His second

wife is reported to have been particularly proud, and anxious that he should, at all times, appear like a man of the first rank. She reserved to herself the pleasing task of purchasing all his fine clothes, and was always sure to let her friends know it was out of her fortune she did so. As Mallet was what is called a free thinker in religion, his wife also, who prided herself in the strength of her understanding, scrupled not, when surrounded at her table with company of congenial opinions, amongst whom it is said Gibbon was a frequent guest, to enforce her dogmas in a truly authoritative style, prefacing them with the exclamation of "Sir,—We deists." As an additional proof of the vanity and weakness of this well-matched pair, we subjoin the following anecdotes from Wilkes's Correspondence, and Johnson's Lives of the Poets :—

"On his arrival from the north, he became a great declaimer at the London coffee-houses, against the Christian religion. Old surly Dennis was highly offended at his conduct, and always called him "Moloch." He then changed his name to Mallet, and soon after published an epistle to Mr Pope on Verbal Criticism. Theobald was attacked in it, and soon avenged himself in the new edition of Shakspeare: 'An anonymous writer has, like a Scotch pedlar in wit, unbraced his pack on the subject. I may fairly say of this author, as Falstaff says of Poin—Hang him, baboon, his wit is as thick as Tewkesbury mustard; there is no more conceit in him than a *mallet*.'—Preface, p. 52, edition of 1733. This Malloch had the happiness of a wife, who had *faith* enough. She *believed* that her husband was the greatest poet and wit of the age. Sometimes she would seize his hand, and kiss it with rapture, and if the looks of a friend expressed any surprise, would apologize that it was the dear hand that wrote those divine poems. She was lamenting to a lady how much the reputation of her husband suffered by his name being so frequently confounded with that of Dr Smollett. The lady answered, 'Madam, there is a short remedy; let your husband keep his own name.'"

"When Pope published his Essay on Man, but concealed the author, Mallet entering one day, Pope asked him slightly what there was new. Mallet told him that the newest piece was *something* called an Essay on Man, which he had inspected idly, and seeing the utter inability of the author, who had neither skill in writing, nor knowledge of the subject, had tossed it away. Pope, to punish his self-conceit, told him the secret."

"Mallet's conversation," says Dr Johnson, "was elegant and easy, his works are such as a writer, bustling in the world, showing himself in public, and emerging, occasionally, from time to time, into notice, might keep alive by his personal influence; but which, conveying but little information, and giving no great pleasure, must soon give way, as the succession of things produces new topics of conversation, and other modes of amusement."

A daughter, by his first wife, named Cilezia, who was married to an Italian of rank, wrote a tragedy called "Alnida," which was acted at Drury Lane theatre. She died at Genoa in 1790.

M'GAVIN, WILLIAM, a modern controversial and miscellaneous writer, was born August 12th, 1773, on the farm of Darnlaw, in the parish of Auchinleck, Ayrshire, which his father held on lease from lord Auchinleck, and afterwards from his son James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson. A short attendance at the school of that parish, when about seven years of age, constituted the whole education of a regular kind, which the subject of this memoir ever enjoyed. His parents having removed in 1783 to Paisley, and being in by no means affluent circumstances, he was sent at an early period of life to earn his bread as a draw-boy in one of the manufactories. Subsequently he tried weaving of silk, but eventually was led by his taste for reading to become apprentice

to Mr John Neilson, printer and bookseller; a situation highly congenial to his taste, and which afforded him the means of cultivating his mind to a considerable extent. Among various persons of talent and information who frequented Mr Neilson's shop was the unfortunate Alexander Wilson, poet, and afterwards the distinguished ornithologist, who, finding it necessary to remove to America, was assisted to no small extent by Mr M'Gavin. The popular opinions of that period were adopted in all their latitude by Mr M'Gavin; many fugitive pieces by him upon the question of parliamentary reform and other exciting topics, were received with approbation by those who professed similar sentiments; but it is not known that he took any more active part in the politics of the time.

The duty of reading proof-sheets in his master's shop was the circumstance which first led Mr M'Gavin to study the English language carefully; and, considering the limited nature of his education, it is surprising that he should have been able to attract notice as an author under the age of twenty.

In 1793, having left Mr Neilson's shop, he was found qualified to assist his elder brother in the management of a school, where writing, arithmetic, and mathematics were taught. Of this seminary he afterwards became sole master; but he ultimately abandoned teaching as a pursuit not agreeable to his genius or temper, and in 1798, was engaged as book-keeper and clerk by Mr David Lamb, an American cotton merchant, to whose two sons he at the same time acted as tutor. Some years afterwards, on Mr Lamb removing to America, Mr M'Gavin became his partner; the business was carried on in Glasgow. In 1805, Mr M'Gavin married Miss Isabella Campbell of Paisley. As his business was of a light nature, and Mrs M'Gavin brought him no children, he enjoyed more leisure for the cultivation of his mind than falls to the lot of most merchants in the busy capital of the west of Scotland. At a later period, after the death of his original patron, he entered into partnership with the son of that gentleman, and carried on what is called a West India business under the firm of M'Gavin and Lamb. This ultimately proving unprofitable, he was induced, in 1822, to undertake the Glasgow agency of the British Linen Company's bank, which he conducted without intermission till his death.

Mr M'Gavin was brought up by his parents in the strictest tenets of the presbyterian faith, as professed by the congregations of original anti-burghers. About the year 1800, a conscientious dissent from the views of this body respecting church government induced him to join the Rev. Mr Ramsay in the formation of an independent or congregational church. In this communion he began to exercise a gift of preaching, with which he was endowed in a remarkable degree, receiving from Mr Ramsay the ordination which was considered necessary for the pastoral office by this body of Christians. Eventually, circumstances so much reduced the society, as to make it cease to answer what he conceived to be the design and use of a church—namely, “not only the edification of its own members, but the public exhibition of their spirit and practice, for manifesting the glory of the grace of God, and promoting the salvation of men.” For this reason, in 1808, he joined the kindred congregation of Mr Greville Ewing in the Nile Street meeting-house, Glasgow, where he was soon afterwards invested with the office of deacon. Here he might have also continued to preach, if he had been willing; but he was now unable, from the pressure of business, to give the duty that attention which he deemed necessary, and accordingly resisted Mr Ewing's frequent and urgent solicitations, though he occasionally consented to perform public worship in the neighbouring villages, or in places where he thought such ministrations eminently necessary.

Being a man of uncommon industry, and equally great benevolence, Mr

M'Gavin found time, amidst his numerous mercantile avocations, to write a number of religious tracts and stories, for the improvement of the poorer and junior classes of society. Though these productions are of a class which do not usually attain a high place in literature, no reader, however indifferent to the subjects, or of however highly cultivated intellect, could peruse them, without remarking the extraordinary conciseness of style and moral force by which they are characterized. The most distinguished of all Mr M'Gavin's writings is his "Protestant," a series of papers, designed to expose the errors of the church of Rome, commenced in 1818, and finished in 1822. In the general decline of religious controversial writing, the celebrity acquired by this work, is a strong testimony to the powers of the author. In its collected form, in four volumes octavo, it went through no fewer than seven editions in the first ten years. According to Mr Greville Ewing, in a funeral sermon upon Mr M'Gavin, "the commencement of the work was casual, and the whole executed with hasty preparation. While engaged in a mercantile business of his own, he had at that time the winding up of an old concern of his partner, the heavy charge of another concern, which in the end proved a severe loss to him, besides other business matters, as factorships, references, as sole arbiter, in cases both from private parties and from the Court of Session, which he decided in a manner satisfactory to all concerned; and many other things were devolved on him, which none but a man of clear judgment, and unusually industrious habits, could have undertaken. A work which, otherwise, would have been extremely irksome, was rendered pleasant by the continued and increasing favour with which it was received by the public in general, and by the approbation of distinguished individuals in each of the three kingdoms. One of the most eminent bishops of the church of England offered to give him holy orders. That, however, which was most gratifying to the author, was the interest which he was honoured to excite in the public mind, with regard to the subject of popery. I make no attempt to give a particular account of the contents of this work. It is impossible, they are so extensive: it is unnecessary, they are so generally known. It is matter of notoriety, that Mr M'Gavin was prosecuted for certain articles in the Protestant, and had a verdict against him, imposing on him a fine of £100, which, with expenses, amounted to above £1200. Into the merits of these things I shall not enter, further than to state, in round numbers, that £800 of the £1200, was raised by public subscription, and that the whole, it was believed, would have been more than paid, had not each subscriber been limited to a certain sum. As the case had been so arranged, Mr M'Gavin was obliged, in the mean time, to pay the balance out of his own pocket; of which, great as the amount was, I never heard him complain. The publishers afterwards very handsomely came forward to reimburse the author, which, from the sale of the work, they were enabled to do without loss to themselves, though he had no claim upon them."

Mr M'Gavin, in 1827, superintended a new and improved edition of "The Scots Worthies," a work commemorating the lives of the most eminent Scottish clergy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and originally written by an unlettered individual named John Howie, of Lochgoin. The book was greatly improved by the notes of Mr M'Gavin. He soon after published a refutation of the peculiar views of Mr Cobbett in his History of the Reformation; and a similar exposure of the principles of Mr Robert Owen. Being a decided enemy to the connexion of the church and state, he was induced to embody his sentiments on that subject in a pamphlet, entitled "Church Establishments considered; in a Series of Letters to a Covenanter." Not long before his death, Mr M'Gavin superintended a new and improved edition of Knox's History of

the Reformation; and aided with an introduction, a work by the Rev. Mr John Brown of Whitburn, entitled "Memorials of the Nonconformist Ministers of the Seventeenth Century." In the midst of his divers labours, he suddenly died of apoplexy, August 23, 1832.

Of the intellectual vigour and religious fervour of Mr M'Gavin, his published writings afford a sufficient and lasting memorial. His personal qualities are not, however, fully shown in that mirror. His diligence in his ordinary secular employments, his zeal in promoting the religious and worldly interests of all who came under his notice, his mild and amiable character in private society, are traits which must be added. Two of his most conspicuous qualities—the power of a satirist, and a certain precision which appeared in all he either spoke or wrote—might be supposed incompatible with the tenderer lights of a domestic character. But in him the one set of qualities was not more conspicuous than the other. "His personal disposition," says Mr Ewing, "was that of the publican, who pleaded with God for mercy, when he went up into the temple to pray, and returned justified, because he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. Like Nathanael, he was an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile. Like Paul, he was ready to call himself less than the least of all saints, and to ascribe his salvation to Jesus Christ having come into the world to save sinners, of whom he was a chief. He had, even in his natural temper, much tenderness of heart, much sincere and generous benevolence. If conscious of any quickness, which I have heard him acknowledge, but never saw, it was guarded by the vigilance of Christian meekness, and by the genuine modesty of superior good sense. Those, who knew him only from feeling the lash of his controversial writings, may have been tempted to think of him as an austere man. In truth, however, he was the very reverse.—The profits of the Protestant he once offered as a subscription to the society in this city for the support of the Catholic schools. The offer was declined, because some of the Roman catholic persuasion regarded it as an insult. I do not wonder at the misunderstanding. But had they known him as I did, and as he was known by all his familiar friends, they would have accepted of his offer, as a mark of his cordial good-will to a valuable institution."

MELVILLE, ANDREW, one of the principal public characters, and also one of the most eminent scholars of his time, was born on the 1st of August, 1545, at Baldovv, an estate on the banks of the South Esk, near Montrose, of which his father was proprietor. He was the youngest of nine sons, and had the misfortune to lose his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, while he was yet only two years of age. The death of his mother, also, soon afterwards took place, and he was thus left an orphan. The loss of his parents, however, was in a great measure compensated by the kindness and tenderness of his eldest brother, and the wife of that individual, both of whom watched over his infant years with the most anxious affection and assiduity. The long-tried and unwearied kindness of the latter, in particular, made a strong impression upon Melville, which lasted during the whole of his life.

His brother, perceiving his early propensity to learning, resolved to encourage it, and with this view gave him the best education which the country afforded. He was besides of a weakly habit of body, a consideration which had its weight in determining the line of life he should pursue. Young Melville was accordingly put to the grammar school of Montrose, where he acquired the elements of the Latin language, and, among other accomplishments, a knowledge of Greek, which was then a rare study in Scotland. When removed, in his fourteenth year, to the university of St Andrews, he surprised his teachers by his knowledge of Greek, with which they were wholly unacquainted. He was in-

debted for this fortunate peculiarity in his education, to a Frenchman of the name of Marsilliers, who had been established as a teacher of Greek in the school of Montrose, by John Erskine of Dun.

The great progress which young Melville had made in learning, excited the astonishment and attracted the attention of the various teachers in the university; particularly Mr John Douglas, the rector, who on one occasion having taken the young and weakly boy between his knees, was so delighted with his replies, when questioned on the subject of his studies, that he exclaimed, "My silly fatherless and motherless boy, it's ill to witt [to guess] what God may make of thee yet."

The reputation which Melville acquired soon after entering the college, increased with his stay there; and he left it, on finishing the usual course of study, with the character of being "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of any young master in the land." Having acquired all the learning which his native country afforded, he resolved to proceed to the continent to complete his education; and, accordingly, with the consent of his brothers, set out for France in the autumn of 1564, being still only in the nineteenth year of his age. At the university of Paris, whither he repaired, he acquired a similar reputation for general talent, and particularly for his knowledge of Greek, with that which he had secured at St Andrews. Here he remained for two years, when he removed to Poitiers. On his arrival at the latter place, such was the celebrity already attached to his name, he was made regent in the college of St Marceon, although yet only twenty-one years of age. From Poitiers, he went some time afterwards to Geneva, where he was presented with the humanity chair in the academy, which happened fortunately to be then vacant. In 1574, he returned to his native country, after an absence altogether of ten years. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was invited by the regent Morton to enter his family as a domestic instructor, with a promise of advancement when opportunity should offer. This invitation he declined, alleging that he preferred an academical life, and that the object of his highest ambition was to obtain an appointment in one of the universities. He now retired to Baldov, where he spent the following three months, enjoying the society of his elder brother, and amusing himself by superintending the studies of his nephew, James Melville.

At the end of this period, he was appointed principal of the college of Glasgow by the General Assembly, and immediately proceeded thither to assume the duties of his office. Here the learning and talents of Melville were eminently serviceable, not only to the university over which he presided, but to the whole kingdom. He introduced improvements in teaching and in discipline, which at once procured a high degree of popularity to the college, and greatly promoted the cause of general education throughout Scotland. Melville possessed a considerable share of that intrepidity for which his great predecessor, Knox, was so remarkable. At an interview, on one occasion, with the regent Morton, who was highly displeased with some proceedings of the General Assembly, of which Melville was a member, the former, irritated by what he conceived to be obstinacy in the latter, exclaimed, "There will never be quietness in this country, till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished."—"Hark, sir," said Melville, "threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me, whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene.* I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared [expended], at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years, as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth." It is not said

that the regent resented this bold language ; but probably his forbearance was as much owing to the circumstance of his resigning the regency, which he did soon after, as to any other cause.

In 1580, Melville was translated to St Andrews, to fill a similar situation with that which he occupied at Glasgow. Here he distinguished himself by the same ability which had acquired him so much reputation in the western university. Besides giving lectures on theology, he taught the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages, and discovered such an extent of knowledge and superiority of acquirement, that his classes were attended, not only by young students in unusual numbers, but by several of the masters of the other colleges. In 1582, Melville opened, with sermon, an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly, which had been convoked to take into consideration the dangerous state of the protestant church, from the influence which the earl of Arran, and the lords D'Aubigné and Lennox, exercised over the young king. In this sermon he boldly inveighed against the absolute authority which the court was assuming a right to exercise in ecclesiastical affairs, and alluded to a design on the part of France, of which D'Aubigné was the instrument, to re-establish the catholic religion in the country. The assembly, impressed with similar sentiments, and entertaining similar apprehensions, drew up a spirited remonstrance to the king, and appointed Melville to present it. He accordingly repaired to Perth, where the king then was, and, despite of some alarming reports which reached him, of the personal danger to which he would expose himself from the resentment of the king's favourites, demanded and obtained access to his majesty. When the remonstrance was read, Arran looked round the apartment, and exclaimed, in a tone of defiance and menace, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?"—"We dare," replied Melville; and, taking a pen from the clerk, he affixed his signature to the document: an example which was immediately followed by the other commissioners who were with him. The cool and dignified intrepidity of Melville, completely silenced the blustering of Arran, who, finding himself at fault by this unexpected opposition, made no further remark; and Lennox, with better policy, having spoken to the commissioners in a conciliatory tone, they were peaceably dismissed. It seems probable, however, from what afterwards ensued, that Arran did not forget the humiliation to which Melville's boldness had on this occasion subjected him. In less than two years afterwards, Melville was summoned before the privy council, on a charge of high treason, founded upon some expressions which, it was alleged, he had made use of in the pulpit. Whether Arran was the original instigator of the prosecution, does not very distinctly appear; but it is certain that he took an active part in its progress, and expressed an eager anxiety for the conviction of the accused. Failing in establishing any thing to the prejudice of Melville, the council had recourse to an expedient to effect that which they could not accomplish through his indictment. They could not punish him for offences which they could not prove; but they found him guilty of declining the judgment of the council, and of behaving irreverently before them, and condemned him to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in person and goods at his majesty's pleasure. The terms of the sentence, in so far as regarded the place of imprisonment, were afterwards altered by Arran, who substituted "Blackness," where he had a creature of his own as keeper, for Edinburgh. Several hours being allowed to Melville before he was put in ward, he availed himself of the opportunity, and made his escape to England. To this step, being himself in doubt whether he ought not rather to submit to the sentence of the council, he was urged by some of his friends, who, to his request for advice in the matter, replied, with the proverb of the house of

Angus, "Loose and living;" which pretty plainly intimates what they conceived would be the result, if he permitted himself to be made "fast." On leaving Edinburgh, Melville first proceeded to Berwick, and thence to London, where he remained till the November of 1585. The indignation of the kingdom having then driven Arran from the court, he returned to Scotland, after an absence of twenty months. The plague, which had raged in the country while he was in England, having dispersed his pupils at St Andrews, and the college being, from this and other causes, in a state of complete disorganization, he did not immediately resume his duties there, but proceeded to Glasgow, where he remained for some time. In the month of March following, induced by an appearance of more settled times, he returned to St Andrews, and recommenced his lectures and former course of instruction. These, however, were soon again interrupted. In consequence of the active part which he took in the excommunication of archbishop Adamson, who was accused of overthrowing the scriptural government and discipline of the church of Scotland, he was commanded by the king to leave St Andrews, and to confine himself beyond the water of Tay. From this banishment he was soon afterwards recalled; and, having been restored to his majesty's favour, through the intercession of the dean of faculty and masters of the university, he resumed his academical labours at St Andrews.

In the year following (1587,) he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly, and appointed one of their commissioners to the ensuing meeting of parliament. A similar honour with the first was conferred upon him in 1589, and again in 1594. In the year following, he was invited to take a part in the ceremonies at the coronation of the queen, which took place in the chapel of Holyrood, on the 17th of May. On this occasion, although he did not know, until only two days before, that he was expected to take a part in the approaching ceremony, he composed and delivered, before a great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen, assembled to witness the coronation, a Latin poem, which, having been printed next day at the earnest solicitation of his majesty, who was much pleased with it, under the title of "Stephaniskion," and circulated throughout Europe, added greatly to the reputation which its author had already acquired. An instance of the generosity of Melville's disposition, which occurred about this time, cannot be passed over, however brief the sketch of his life may be, without doing an injustice to his memory. Archbishop Adamson, one of his most irreconcilable enemies, having lost the favour of the king, was reduced, by the sequestration of his annuity, which immediately followed, to great pecuniary distress. He applied to Melville for relief, and he did not apply in vain. Melville immediately visited him, and undertook to support himself and his family at his own expense, until some more effective and permanent assistance could be procured for him; and this he did for several months, finally obtaining a contribution for him from his friends in St Andrews. Such instances of benevolence are best left to the reader's own reflections, and are only injured by comment.

In 1590, he was chosen rector of the university; an office which he continued to hold by re-election for many years, and in which he displayed a firmness and decision of character on several trying occasions, that gives him a claim to something more than a mere literary reputation. Though a loyal subject in the best sense and most genuine acceptation of that term, he frequently addressed king James in language much more remarkable for its plainness than its courtesy. He had no sympathy whatever for the absurdities of that prince, and would neither condescend to humour his foibles nor flatter his vanity. A remarkable instance of this plain dealing with his majesty, occurred in 1596. In that year, Melville formed one of a deputation from the commissioners of the

General Assembly, who met at Cupar in Fife, being appointed to wait upon the king at Falkland, for the purpose of exhorting him to prevent the consequences of certain measures inimical to religion, which his council were pursuing. James Melville, nephew of the subject of this memoir, was chosen spokesman of the party, on account of the mildness of his manner and the courteousness of his address. On entering the presence, he accordingly began to state the object and views of the deputation. He had scarcely commenced, however, when the king interrupted him, and in passionate language, denounced the meeting at Cupar as illegal and seditious. James Melville was about to reply with his usual mildness, when his uncle, stepping forward, seized the sleeve of the king's gown, and calling his sacred majesty "God's silly vassal," proceeded to lecture him on the impropriety of his conduct, and to point out to him the course which he ought to pursue, particularly in matters of ecclesiastical polity. "Sir," he said, "we will always humbly reverence your majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since you are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and, along with you, the country and the church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth, and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is king James, the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the king of the church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." Melville went on in a similar strain with this for a great length of time, notwithstanding repeated attempts, on the part of the king, to stop him. James expressed the strongest repugnance at the outset to listen to him, and endeavoured to frighten him from his purpose by a display of the terrors of offended royalty, but in vain. He was finally compelled to listen quietly and patiently to all that Melville chose to say. At the conclusion of the speech, the king, whose anger, and whose courage also probably, had subsided during its delivery, made every concession which was required; and the deputation returned without any loss, apparently, of royal favour. It was not, however, to be expected, that Melville should have gained any ground in the king's affections by this display of sincerity and zeal; nor were the future interviews which took place between them better calculated for this end. The very next which occurred is thus alluded to in his nephew's diary: "And ther they (the king and Melville) heeled on, till all the hous and clos bathe hard mikle, of a large houre. In end, the king takes up and dismisiss him favourablie."

However favourably James may have dismissed him, he does not seem to have been unwilling to avail himself of the first opportunity which should offer of getting rid of him. At a royal visitation of the university of St Andrews, which soon afterwards took place, matter of censure against Melville was eagerly sought after and all who felt disposed to bring any complaint against him, were encouraged to come forward with their accusations. The result was, that a large roll, filled with charges against him, was put into the king's hands. He was accused of neglecting the pecuniary affairs of the college, and the duties of his office as a teacher, of agitating questions of policy in place of lecturing on divinity, and of inculcating doctrines subversive of the king's authority and of the peace of the realm. At several strict examinations, he gave such satisfactory explanations of his conduct, and defended himself so effectually against the slanders of those who sought his ruin, that the visitors were left without any ground or pretext on which to proceed against him. They, however, deprived him of the rectorship, on the plea that it was improper that that office should be united

with the professorship of theology, the appointment which Melville held in the university.

The accession of James to the English throne, did not abate his desire to assume an absolute control over the affairs of the church of Scotland, and long after his removal to England, he continued to entertain designs hostile to its liberties. The attempts which he had made to obtain this supremacy, while he was yet in Scotland, had been thwarted in a great measure by the exertions of Melville. His intrepidity kept James at bay, and his zeal, activity, and talents, deprived him of all chance of succeeding, by chicanery or cunning. Melville still presented himself as a stumbling-block in his way, should he attempt to approach the Scottish church with inimical designs, and James, therefore, now resolved that he should be entirely removed from the kingdom. To accomplish this, he had recourse to one of those infamous and unprincipled stratagem which he considered the very essence of "king craft." In May 1606, Melville received a letter from his majesty, commanding him to repair to London before the 15th of September next, that his majesty might consult with him, and others of his learned brethren, regarding ecclesiastical matters, with the view of healing all differences, and securing a good understanding between his majesty and the church. Letters of a similar tenor were received by seven other clergymen, amongst whom was Melville's nephew.

Though not without some doubts regarding the result of this rather extraordinary invitation, Melville and his brethren set out for London, where they arrived on the 25th of August. The first interview of the Scottish clergymen with the king was sufficiently gracious. He inquired for news from Scotland, and condescended even to be jocular. This, however, did not last long; at the subsequent conferences Melville found himself called upon, by the sentiments which the king expressed regarding church matters, to hold the same bold and plain language to him which he had so often done in Scotland, and this too in the presence of great numbers of his English courtiers, who could not refrain from expressing their admiration of Melville's boldness, and of the eloquence with which he delivered his sentiments. In the mean time, however, the Scottish ministers were interdicted from returning to Scotland without the special permission of the king. On the 28th September they were required by his majesty to give attendance in the royal chapel on the following day to witness the celebration of the festival of St Michael. The ceremonies and fooleries of the exhibition which took place on this occasion, were so absurd, and so nearly approached those of the Romish church, that they excited in Melville a feeling of the utmost indignation and contempt. This feeling he expressed in a Latin epigram, which he composed on returning to his lodgings. A copy of the lines found their way to his majesty, who was greatly incensed by them, and determined to proceed against their author on the ground that they were treasonable. He was accordingly summoned before the privy council, found guilty of scandalum magnatum, and after a confinement of nearly twelve months, first in the house of the dean of St Paul's, and afterwards in that of the bishop of Winchester, was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for four years. The other clergymen who had accompanied Melville to London were allowed to return to Scotland; but they were confined to particular parts of the country, and forbidden to attend any church courts. Melville's nephew was commanded to leave London within six days, and to repair to Newcastle upon Tyne, and not to go ten miles beyond that town on the pain of rebellion.

In the month of February, 1611, Melville was released from the Tower on the application of the duke of Bouillon, who had solicited his liberty from the king, in order to procure his services as a professor in his university at Sedan

in France. Melville, who was now in the 66th year of his age, was exceedingly reluctant to go abroad; but, as this was a condition of his liberty, and as there was no hope of the king's being prevailed upon to allow him to return to Scotland, he submitted to the expatriation, and sailed for France on the 19th of April.

On his arrival at Paris he was fortunate enough to fall in with one of his scholars then prosecuting his studies there, by whom he was kindly and affectionately received. After spending a few days in the French capital he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university.

In the year following he removed to Grenoble, to superintend the education of three sons of the treasurer of the parliament of Dauphiny, with a salary of five hundred crowns per annum; but, not finding the situation an agreeable one, he returned within a short time to Sedan, and resumed his former duties. Melville continued to maintain a close correspondence with his numerous friends in Scotland, and particularly with his nephew, James Melville, to whom he was warmly attached. Of him, his best, most constant, and dearest friend, however, he was soon to be deprived. That amiable man, who had adhered to him through good and bad fortune, through storm and sunshine, for a long series of years, died in the beginning of the year 1614. The grief of Melville on receiving the intelligence of his death was deep and poignant. He gave way to no boisterous expression of feeling; but he felt the deprivation with all the keenness which such a calamity is calculated to inflict on an affectionate heart. With his fondest wishes still directed towards his native land, he requested his friends in London to embrace any favourable opportunity which might offer of procuring his restoration; and in 1616, a promise was obtained from his majesty, that he would be relieved from banishment. This, promise, however, like many others of James's, was never realized. Melville, after all that he had done for his country, was doomed to breathe his last an exile in a foreign land. To compensate in some measure for the misfortunes which clouded his latter days, he was blessed with a more than ordinary share of bodily health, and that to a later period of life than is often to be met with. "Am I not," he says, in a letter to a friend written in the year 1612, "three score and eight years old, unto the which age none of my fourteen brethren came; and, yet I thank God, I eat, I drink, I sleep as well as I did these thirty years bygone, and better than when I was younger—in *ipso flore adolescentiæ*,—only the gravel now and then seasons my mirth with some little pain, which I have felt only since the beginning of March the last year, a month before my deliverance from prison. I feel, thank God, no abatement of the alacrity and ardour of my mind for the propagation of the truth. Neither use I spectacles now more than ever, yea I use none at all nor ever did, and see now to read Hebrew without points, and in the smallest characters." With this good bodily health, he also enjoyed to the close of his life that cheerfulness of disposition and vivacity of imagination for which he was distinguished in earlier years, and in the seventy-fourth year of his age he is found vying with the most sprightly and juvenile of his colleagues in the composition of an epithalamium on the occasion of the marriage of the eldest daughter of his patron the duke of Bouillon.

Years, however, at length undermined a constitution which disease had left untouched until the very close of life. In 1620, his health which had previously been slightly impaired, grew worse, and in the course of the year 1622, he died at Sedan, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

The benefits which Melville conferred on his country in the department of its literature are thus spoken of by Dr Mc'Crie: "His arrival imparted a new impulse to the public mind, and his high reputation for learning, joined to the

enthusiasm with which he pleaded its cause, enabled him to introduce an improved plan of study into all the universities. By his instructions and example, he continued and increased the impulse which he had first given to the minds of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged." The services which he rendered the civil and religious liberties of his country are recorded by the same able author in still stronger terms. "If the love of pure religion," he says, "rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville."

MELVILLE, JAMES, with whose history are connected many most interesting facts in the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland, was born at Baldov, near Montrose, on the 25th of July, 1556.¹ His father was Richard Melville of Baldov, the friend of Wishart the Martyr, and of John Erskine of Dun, and the elder brother of Andrew Melville. Soon after the Reformation, this gentleman became minister of Mary-Kirk, in the immediate neighbourhood of his property, and continued so till the close of his life. He married Isobel Scrimgeour, sister of the laird of Glasswell, a woman of great "godlines, honestie, vertew, and affection." James Melville was, therefore, to use his own expression, descended "of godlie, faithfull, and honest parents, bathe lightned with the light of the gospell, at the first dawning of the day tharof within Scotland."

The mother of James Melville having died about a year after his birth, he was placed under the care of a nurse, "an evill inclynit woman;" and after being weaned, was lodged in the house of a cottar, from whence, when he was about four or five years old, he was brought home to Baldov. He and his elder brother David were soon afterwards sent to a school, kept by Mr William Gray, minister of Logie-Montrose, "a guid, lerned, kynd man." This school was broken up, partly by the removal of some of the boys perhaps to attend the universities, but more immediately by the ravages of the plague at Montrose, from which Logie was only two miles distant. James and his brother, therefore, returned home, after having attended it for about five years. During the following winter, they remained at home, receiving from their father such occasional instruction as his numerous duties permitted him to give them. At this period, Richard Melville seems to have intended that both his sons should be trained to agricultural pursuits, there being no learned profession in which a livelihood, even of a very moderate kind, could be obtained. In the spring, it was resolved that, as the elder brother was sufficiently old to assist in superintending his father's rural affairs, he should remain at home, and that James should be sent again to school. He accordingly attended a school at Montrose, of which Andrew Milne, afterwards minister of Fetteresso, was master. Here he continued about two years.

Of the whole of this period of his life, James Melville has left a most interesting account; and we only regret that, from the length to which this memoir must otherwise extend, we are unable to give any thing more than a very rapid sketch of this and the subsequent part of his education. He entered on his philosophical course at St Leonard's college in the university of St Andrews, in November, 1571, under the care of William Collace, one of the regents. At first he found himself unable to understand the Latin prelections, and was so much chagrined that he was frequently found in tears; but the regent took

¹ In a note on this date in his Diary, he says, "My uncle, Mr Andro, haulds that I was born in An. 1557."

him to lodge at his apartments, and was so much pleased with the sweetness of his disposition, and his anxiety to learn, that he made him the constant object of his care, and had the satisfaction of seeing him leave the university, after having attained its highest honours. During the prescribed period of four years, Melville was taught logic, (including the Aristotelian philosophy,) mathematics, ethics, natural philosophy, and law. At the end of the third year, he, according to the usual custom, took the degree of Bachelor, and, on finishing the fourth, that of Master of Arts. One of the most interesting events recorded by James Melville to have occurred during his residence at St Andrews, was the arrival of John Knox there in 1571; and he alludes with much feeling to the powerful effects produced on his mind by the sermons of the reformer.

After finishing his philosophical education, James Melville returned to his father's house, where he prosecuted his studies during the summer months. Having finished that part of his education which was necessary for general purposes, it was now requisite that he should determine what profession he should adopt. His father had destined him for that of a lawyer; but although James had studied some parts of that profession, and had attended the consistorial court at St Andrews, his heart "was nocht sett that way." Deference to his father's wishes had hitherto prevented him offering any decided opposition to his intentions, but he had at this period taken means to show the bent of his mind. Choosing a passage in St John's Gospel for his text, he composed a sermon, which he put in a book used by his father in preparing his weekly sermons. The MS. was accordingly found, and pleased his father exceedingly. But James was now luckily saved the pain of either opposing the wishes of a kind, but somewhat austere parent, or of applying himself to a profession for the study of which he had no affection, by an unlooked for accident—the arrival of his uncle, Andrew Melville, from the continent. To him his father committed James, "to be a pledge of his love," and they were destined to be for many years companions in labour and in adversity.

James Melville had left the university with the character of a diligent and accomplished student. He had flattered himself that he had exhausted those subjects which had come under his attention, but he was now to be subjected to a severe mortification. When his uncle examined him, he found that he was yet but a mere child in knowledge, and that many years of study were still necessary, before he could arrive at the goal which he had supposed himself to have already reached. James's mortification did not, however, lead him to sit down in despair. He renewed his studies with the determination to succeed, and revised, under his uncle's directions, both his classical and philosophical education. "That quarter of yeir," says he, "I thought I gat graitter light in letters nor all my tyme befor. . . . And all this as it wer by cracking and playing, sa that I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him [Andrew Melville] in daylie conversation, bathe that quarter and thereafter, nor euer I lernit of anie buik, whowbeit he set me euer to the best authors."

Endowed with such talents and acquirements, it will readily be believed that Andrew Melville was not allowed to remain long idle. He was soon after his return invited to become principal of the university of Glasgow; an appointment which, after a short trial, he agreed to accept. In October, 1574, he left Baldovoy to undertake the duties of his office, taking with him his nephew, who was, in the following year, appointed one of the regents. The labours of Andrew Melville at Glasgow, have been already noticed in his life, and we shall, therefore, only extend our inquiries here to the course adopted by the subject of this memoir. For the first year, James Melville taught his class "the Greek grammar, Isocratis Parænesis ad Demonicum, the first buk of Homers *Iliads*,

Phocylides, Hesiods *Εργα και Ημεραι*, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise in Ciceros Catilinars and Paradoxes." "The second year of my regenting," says James Melville, "I teachit the elements of arithmetic and geometrie, out [of] Psellus, for shortnes; the Offices of Cicero; Aristotles Logic in Greek, and Ethic, (and was the first regent that ever did that in Scotland;) also, Platoes Phaedon and Axiochus; and that profession of the mathematiks, logic, and morall philosophie, I keipit (as everie ane of the regents keipit their awin, the schollars ay ascending and passing throw) sa lang as I regented ther, even till I was, with Mr Andro, transported to St Andros." His private hours were devoted to the study of the Hebrew language, and of theology. He had already, upon one occasion, given proof of his talents for public teaching, and he had now an opportunity of continuing his labours. It was a custom that each regent should, for a week in turn, conduct the students to a church near the college, where the citizens also attended, to hear prayers and one or two chapters of the Scriptures read. The regents had hitherto confined themselves exclusively to these limits, probably from a feeling of their inability to offer any commentary; but James Melville, taking a general view of the passages read, gave them a summary of the doctrines enforced, and accompanied it with an application to the situations of his hearers. "This pleasisit and comfortit guid peiple verie mikle."

The routine of academical instruction affords but few materials for biography. James Melville has therefore recorded little relative to himself at this period of his life, except an attack made upon him by one of the students, and the occurrences consequent upon it. But although this affair originated with him, it belongs more properly to the life of Andrew Melville, who as principal of the college, acted the most prominent part in all the subsequent proceedings.

Andrew Melville had now accomplished nearly all that zeal or talent could effect for the university of Glasgow. Its revenues were improved,—its character as a seat of learning raised much above that of any of the other Scottish universities,—the number of students was greatly increased, and its discipline maintained with a degree of firmness, of the necessity of which, however sceptical modern readers may be, the attack to which we have just alluded is a most decided proof. The Assembly which met at Edinburgh therefore ordained that Melville should remove to the new college of St Andrews, "to begin the wark of theologie ther with sic as he thought meit to tak with him for that effect, conform to the leat reformation of that universitie, and the new college therof, giften be the kirk and past in parliament." Availing himself of the privilege thus granted of nominating his assistants, he requested his nephew to accompany him. James had for some time resolved upon going to France, but he had too much respect for his uncle to refuse his request. They therefore removed together from Glasgow in the month of November, 1580, leaving Thomas Smeton "a man of singular gifts of learning and godlines," and Patrick Melville, a young gentleman who had lately finished his philosophical studies, as their successors.

In December they entered upon the duties of their respective professions. After his preface, or inaugural discourse, James Melville commenced teaching his students the Hebrew grammar. There were, probably, few young men in the country who, either from their opportunities of acquiring knowledge, or their desire to improve under them, were better qualified to discharge this office well; but his natural diffidence caused him a degree of anxiety, which many less accomplished masters have not experienced. "The grait fear and fear," says he in his Diary, "quhilk was in my heart of my inhabilitie to vn-

dertak and bear out sa grait a charge as to profess theologie and holie tounges amangis ministers and maisters, namelie [especially] in that maist frequent vniuersitie of St Andros, amangs diuers alterit and displacit, and therfor malcontents and mislykers, occupied me sa, that I behovit to forget all, and rin to my God and my buik."

During the earlier period of their residence at St Andrews, Andrew Melville and his nephew had many difficulties to encounter. The former principal and professors annoyed their successors by "pursuit of the compts of the college." The regents of St Leonards, enraged that the philosophy of their almost deified Aristotle should be impugned, raised a commotion; and, to quote the appropriate allusion of James Melville, cried out with one voice, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. The provost and baillies, with the prior and his gentlemen pensioners, were suspected of corrupt proceedings, especially in the provision of a minister for the town, and the opposition and exposures of Andrew Melville thus raised up for him and his fellow labourers another host of enemies. These were all open and avowed opponents, but they had one to deal with, who, as yet wearing the mask of friendship, was secretly plotting their own and the church's ruin,—this person was archbishop Adamson. Add to all this, that immediately after their settlement at St Andrews, the carelessness of one of the students had nearly been the cause of setting the establishment on fire, and we shall be abundantly persuaded that it required no small energy of mind, such as Andrew Melville indeed possessed, not only to bear up in such a situation, but successively to baffle all the opposition that was offered to him.

But amidst many discouragements which the more sensitive mind of James Melville must have keenly felt, he had also many cheering employments. He was engaged in duties which we have seen had been, from an early period, the objects of his greatest desire,—he was the teacher of some promising young men, who afterwards became shining lights in the church, and he had the gratification of being requested to occupy the pulpit on many occasions, when there was no minister in the town, or when the archbishop happened to be absent.

At the Assembly which met at Edinburgh in December 1582, James Melville was earnestly requested to become minister of Stirling. For himself he felt much inclined to accede to the wishes of the inhabitants, and the more so as he was now on the eve of his marriage; but his uncle, considering the affairs of the college still in too precarious a state to admit of his leaving it, refused his consent, and James Melville did not consider it respectful to urge his own wishes. It was indeed fortunate that he was not permitted at this period to leave the college, for in the very next year his uncle was required to appear before the king and privy council, for certain treasonable speeches alleged to have been uttered in his sermons. When the summons (which ordered him to appear in three days) was served, James Melville was in the shire of Angus, and could not upon so sudden a requisition return to St Andrews in time to accompany him to Edinburgh. He arrived, however, on the second day of his trial, if indeed the proceedings deserved that name. Passing over the minute circumstances of this transaction, our narrative only requires that we should state that Andrew Melville found it necessary to insure his safety by a flight into England.

In these discouraging circumstances, James Melville was obliged to return to St Andrews to undertake the management of the affairs of the college,—with what feelings it may readily be judged. When he considered the magnitude of his charge, and the situation of the church, he was completely overpowered; but the duration of his grief was short in proportion to its violence, and he soon found the truest remedy in applying his whole energies to the performance of his in-

creased duties. He taught divinity from his uncle's chair, besides continuing his labours in the department which properly belonged to him. Nor was this all: the *Economus* of the college, finding himself in the service of a party from whom little advantage or promotion could be expected, gave up his office, and thus did the provision of the daily wants of the institution fall to Melville's lot. In the performance of these duties, so arduous and so varied, he was greatly supported by the masters of the university who attended his lectures, and gave him many encouragements. But his greatest comfort was derived from the society of the afterwards celebrated Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who, abandoning his attendance on the courts of law, had, with his father's permission, begun the study of theology at St Andrews.

Harmless, however, as a person whose attention was thus so completely occupied by his own duties must certainly have been, the government did not long permit James Melville to retain his station. The acts of the parliament 1584, by which the presbyterian form of church government was overthrown, were proclaimed at the market cross of Edinburgh, and protested against by Robert Pont and others, in behalf of the church. We have already alluded to the malpractices of archbishop Adamson. About the beginning of May, 1584, Melville had gone to one of the northern counties to collect the revenues of the college. It had, perhaps, been conjectured by the episcopal party, to their no small gratification, that, finding himself unable to comply conscientiously with the late enactments, he had retired, with some of the other ministers, into England. If so, they must have been grievously disappointed by his return. It was certainly not long till the archbishop abundantly manifested his real dispositions; for, on the Sunday immediately following, Melville was informed that a warrant for his apprehension was already in that prelate's possession, and that he was to proceed immediately to its execution. At the earnest desire of his friends, he was prevailed on to remove to Dundee, where he had no sooner arrived, than he learned that a search had been made for him in every part of the college, and that an indictment had been prepared against him, for holding communication with his uncle, the king's rebel. But his removal to Dundee could serve only a very temporary purpose, for it must very soon have become known, and would then have ceased to be any security for his liberty. After the most anxious consideration, he resolved to accept an offer made him by one of his cousins, to take him by sea to Berwick. This gentleman, hiring a small boat under the pretext of conveying some of his wines to one of the coast towns in the neighbourhood, took in Melville in the disguise of a shipwrecked seaman; and, after a voyage, not less dangerous from the risk of detection, than from a violent storm which overtook them, landed him safely at Berwick, where he met his uncle and the other ministers who had been obliged to flee.

The suddenness with which James Melville had been obliged to leave St Andrews, prevented him taking his wife along with him; to have done so, would, in fact, have endangered the whole party. But, after arriving at Berwick, he immediately sent back his cousin, Alexander Scrymgeour, with a letter, requesting this lady (a daughter of John Dury, minister of Edinburgh) to join him. This she had very soon an opportunity of doing, by placing herself under the care of a servant of the English ambassador, and she accordingly remained with her husband during the short period of his exile. At Berwick they resided for about a month; and there, as in every other place, James Melville's amiable and affectionate dispositions procured him many friends. Among these was the lady of Sir Harry Widdrington, governor of the town, under lord Hunsdon. In the mean time, he was invited by the earls of Angus and Mar, then at Newcastle, to become their pastor. Being totally ignorant of the characters of these

noblemen, and of the cause of their exile, he felt unwilling to connect himself with their party, and therefore replied to their invitation, that he could not comply with it, as he had never qualified himself for performing the ministerial functions; but that, as he had determined upon removing to the south, he should visit them on his way thither. When he arrived at Newcastle, he determined upon immediately securing a passage by sea to London; but John Davidson, one of his former masters at St Andrews, and now minister of Prestonpans, informed him that it was not only his own earnest desire, but that of all their brethren, that he should remain at Newcastle with the exiled lords, whose characters and cause he vindicated. To their wishes, Melville therefore acceded.

Soon after his settlement at Newcastle, Davidson, who had only waited his arrival, departed, and left him to discharge the duties alone. Thinking it proper that, before entering on his labours, the order of their religious observances and their discipline should be determined, he drew up "the order and manner of exercise of the word for instruction, and discipline for correction of manners, used in the companies of those godly and noble men of Scotland in time of their abode in Englande, for the good cause of God's kirk, their king and country," and prefixed to it an exhortative letter to the noblemen and their followers. This prefatory epistle commences by an acknowledgment that their present calamities were the just chastisements of the Almighty, for their lukewarmness in the work of reformation,—for permitting the character of their sovereign to be formed by the society of worthless and interested courtiers,—for their pursuit of their own aggrandizement, rather than the good of their country,—and for the violation of justice, and connivance at many odious and unnatural crimes. But while *they* had thus rendered themselves the subjects of the Divine vengeance, how great had been the crimes of the court! It had followed the examples of Ahaz and Uzzah, in removing the altar of the Lord,—it had deprived the masters of their livings, and desolated the schools and universities,—it had said to the preachers, "Prophecy no longer to us in the name of the Lord, but speak unto us pleasant things according to our liking,"—it had taken from others the key of knowledge,—it entered not in, and those that would enter in, it suffered not: finally, it had threatened the ministers, God's special messengers, with imprisonment and death, and, following out its wicked designs, had compelled them to flee to a foreign land. "Can the Lord suffer these things long," Melville continues with great energy, "and be just in executing of his judgments, and pouring out of his plagues upon his cursed enemies? Can the Lord suffer his sanctuary to be defiled, and his own to smart, and be the Father of mercies, God of consolation, and most faithful keeper of his promises? Can the Lord suffer his glory to be given to another? Can he who hath promised to make the enemies of Christ Jesus his footstool, suffer them to tread on his head? Nay, nay, right honourable and dear brethren, he has anointed him King on his holy mountain; he has given him all nations for an inheritance; he has put into his hand a sceptre of iron, to bruise in powder these earthen vessels. When his wrath shall once begin to kindle but a little, he shall make it notoriously known to all the world, that they only are happy who in humility kiss the Lord Jesus, and trust in him." He then concludes by a solemn admonition, that with true repentance,—with unfeigned humiliation,—with diligent perusal of God's word,—and with fervent prayer, meditation, and zeal, they should prosecute the work of God, under the assurance that their labours should not be in vain. He warns them of the diligence of the enemies of God's church,—exhorts them to equal diligence in a good cause,—and reminds them that the ministers of Christ shall be witnesses against them, if they should be found slumbering at their posts. At the request of Archibald, earl of

Angus, Melville also drew up a "list of certain great abuses;" but as it is in many points a recapitulation of the letter just quoted from, no further allusion to it is here necessary.

About a month after the commencement of his ministrations, Melville was joined by Mr Patrick Galloway, who divided the labours with him. His family was now on the increase, and it was considered necessary to remove to Berwick, where he remained as minister of that congregation till the birth of his first child,—a son, whom he named Ephraim, in allusion to his fruitfulness in a strange land. Notwithstanding the stratagems of captain James Stewart, by which lord Hunsdon was induced to forbid them to assemble in the church, the congregation obtained leave, through the kind offices of lady Widrington, to meet in a private house; and Melville mentions that he was never more diligently or more profitably employed, than during that winter. But the pleasure which he derived from the success of his ministrations, was more than counterbalanced by the conduct of some of his brethren at home.

It was about this period that many of the Scottish clergy, led on by the example of John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, signed a deed, binding themselves to obey the late acts of parliament, as far as "according to the word of God." Melville saw the confusions which the introduction of such an equivocal clause must produce. He accordingly addressed a most affectionate but faithful letter, to the subscribing ministers, in which he exhibited, at great length, the sinfulness of their compliance, and the handle which such a compromise must give to the enemies of religion. This letter, as it encouraged the firm, and confirmed the wavering, was proportionally the object of hatred to the court. Two of the students at St Andrews, being detected copying it for distribution, were compelled to flee; and no means seem to have been omitted to check its circulation, or to weaken the force of its statements.

About the middle of February, 1584-5, the noblemen, finding their present residence too near the borders, determined upon removing farther to the south. James Melville, therefore, prepared to follow. In the beginning of March, he and a few friends embarked for London, where they arrived, after a voyage rendered tedious by contrary winds; and, being joined by their companions in exile, were not a little comforted. Soon after his arrival, Melville resumed his ministerial labours.

Many circumstances, which it is not necessary to detail here, conspired to render their exile much shorter than their fondest wishes could have anticipated. As soon as the noblemen of their party had accommodated their disputes with the king, the brethren received a letter (dated at Stirling, 6th November, 1585) from their fellow ministers, urging them to return with all possible expedition. James Melville, and Robert Dury, one of his most intimate friends, therefore, left London, and, after encountering many dangers during the darkness of the nights, arrived at Linlithgow. There he found his brethren under great depression of mind: they had vainly expected from the parliament, then sitting, the abrogation of the obnoxious acts of 1584; and they had a further cause of grief in the conduct of Craig, the leader of the subscribing ministers. After much expectation, and many fruitless attempts to persuade the king of the impropriety of the acts, they were obliged to dismiss, having previously presented a supplication, earnestly craving that no ultimate decision respecting the church might be adopted, without the admission of free discussion.

During the following winter, James Melville was occupied partly in the arrangement of his family affairs, but principally in re-establishing order in the university. The plague, which had for some time raged with great violence, was now abated, and the people, regaining their former confidence, had begun

to return to their ordinary affairs. Taking advantage of this change, the two Melvilles resolved on resuming their labours, and accordingly entered on their respective duties about the middle of March. In the beginning of April the Synod of Fife convened, and it was the duty of James Melville, as moderator at the last meeting, to open their proceedings with a sermon. He chose for his text that part of the twelfth chapter of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which the Christian church is compared to the human body,—composed, like it, of many members, the harmonious operation of which is essential to the health of the whole. After showing by reference to Scripture what was the constitution of the true church,—refuting the doctrine of “the human and devilish bishopric,”—adverting to the purity of the reformed constitution of their church, and proving that the inordinate ambition of a few had been in all ages the destruction of that purity—he turned towards the archbishop, who was sitting with great pomp in the assembly, charged him with the overthrow of the goodly fabric, and exhorted the brethren to cut off so unworthy a member from among them. Notwithstanding the remonstrances and protests of the prelate, the Synod immediately took up the case,—went on, with an inattention to *all* the forms of decency and *some* of those of justice which their warmest advocates do not pretend to vindicate, and ordered him to be excommunicated by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. Thus, by the fervour of their zeal, and perhaps goaded on by personal wrongs, did an Assembly, composed, in the main, of worthy men, subject themselves to censure in the case of a man of a character disgraceful to his profession; and whom, had they been content to act with more moderation, nothing but the strong hand of civil power could have screened from their highest censures, while even *it* could not have defended him from deserved infamy.

But the informality of the Synod's proceedings gave their enemies an unfortunate hold over them, and was the means of baffling their own ends. By the influence of the king, the General Assembly, which met soon afterwards, annulled their sentence, and the Melvilles, being summoned before the king, were commanded to confine themselves,—Andrew to his native place, and James to his college. Thus did matters continue during that summer. James Melville lectured to a numerous audience on the sacred history, illustrating it by reference to geography and chronology. On each alternate day he read lectures on St Paul's Epistle to Timothy, in the course of which he took many opportunities of attacking the hated order of bishops.

Melville was now to obtain what had all along been the object of his highest wishes—a settlement as minister of a parish. In 1583, the charge of the conjunct parishes of Abercrombie, Pittenweem, Austruther, and Kilrenny, became vacant by the decease of the incumbent, and thus they continued for several years. When the Presbytery of St Andrews resumed their meetings on the return of the banished ministers, commissioners were appointed to visit these parishes, and to bring them, if possible, to the unanimous choice of a minister. James Melville, who had been nominated one of these commissioners, soon gained the affections of the people insomuch that they unanimously requested the Presbytery to send him among them. That court no less warmly urged his acceptance, and he accordingly removed to his charge in July, 1586.

It may be readily conceived, that to perform the duties of four parishes was a task far beyond the moral and physical capabilities of any single individual, more especially after they had so long wanted the benefit of a regular ministry. Their conjunction was the result of the mercenary plans of Morton and his friends, but no man was less actuated by such motives than Melville. No sooner did he become acquainted with the state of these parishes than he

determined on their disjunction, at whatever pecuniary loss. When this was effected, he willingly resigned the proportions of stipend in favour of the ministers provided for three of the parishes, while he himself undertook the charge of the fourth (Kilrenny),—he obtained an augmentation of stipend, built a manse, purchased the right to the vicarage and teind fish for the support of himself and his successors, paid the salary of a schoolmaster, and maintained an assistant to perform the duties of the parish, as he was frequently engaged in the public affairs of the church. Such instances of disinterested zeal are indeed rare; but even this was not all. Many years afterwards he printed for the use of his people a catechism which cost five hundred merks, of which, in writing his Diary, he mentions that he could never regain more than one fifth part. While he was thus anxiously promoting the moral and religious improvement of the parishioners, he was also distinguished by the exemplification of his principles in the ordinary affairs of life. An instance of his generosity occurred soon after his settlement in his new charge. In the beginning of 1588, rumours were spread through the country of the projected invasion by the Spaniards. Some time before the destruction of the Armada was known, Melville was waited on, early in the morning, by one of the baillies of the town, who stated that a ship filled with Spaniards had entered their harbour in distress, and requested his advice as to the line of conduct to be observed. When the day was further advanced, the officers (the principal of whom is styled general of twenty hulks) were permitted to land, and appear before the minister and principal men of the town. They stated that their division of the squadron had been wrecked on the Fair Isle, where they had been detained many weeks under all the miseries of fatigue and hunger; that they had at length procured the ship which lay in the harbour; and now came before them to crave their forbearance towards them. Melville replied that, although they were the supporters of Christ's greatest enemy the pope, and although their expedition had been undertaken with the design of desolating the protestant kingdoms of England and Scotland, they should know by their conduct that the people of Scotland were professors of a purer religion. Without entering into all the minute facts of the case, it may be enough to say, that the officers and men were all at length received on shore, and treated with the greatest humanity. "Bot we thanked God with our heartes that we had sein tham amangs ws in that forme," is the quaint conclusion of James Melville, alluding to the difference between the objects of the expedition and the success which had attended it.

But, however disinterested James Melville's conduct might be, it was not destined to escape the most unjust suspicions. When subscriptions were raised to assist the French protestants and the inhabitants of Geneva, (cir. 1588), he had been appointed collector for Fife, and this appointment was now seized upon by his enemies at court, who surmised that he had given the money thus raised to the earl of Bothwell to enable him to raise forces. The supposition is so absurd that it seems incredible that any one, arguing merely on probabilities, should believe that money intended for Geneva,—the very stronghold of his beloved presbytery,—should be given to an outlaw and a catholic. Luckily Melville was not left to prove his innocence even by the doctrine of probabilities. He had in his hands a discharge for the money granted by those to whom he had paid it over, and it was, besides, matter of notoriety that he had been the most active agent in the suppression of Bothwell's rebellion. Still, however, his enemies hinted darkly where they durst not make a manly charge, and it was not till 1594, when sent as a commissioner to the king by the Assembly on another mission, that he had an opportunity of vindicating himself. He then

demanding that any one who could make a charge against him should stand forward and give him an opportunity of vindicating himself before his sovereign. No one appeared. Melville was admitted to a long interview in the king's cabinet; and "thus," says he, "I that came to Stirling the traitor, returned to Edinburgh a great courtier, yea a cabinet councillor."

At the opening of the General Assembly in 1590, James Melville preached. After the usual exordium, he insisted on the necessity of maintaining the strictest discipline,—he recalled to the memory of his audience the history of their country since the Reformation, the original purity of the church, and admonished them of its begun decline,—the brethren were warned of the practices of "the belly-god bishops of England;" and the people were exhorted to a more zealous support of the ecclesiastical establishment, and to a more liberal communication of temporal things to their ministers;—lastly, he recommended a supplication to the king, for a free and full assembly, to be held in the royal presence, for the suppression of papists and sacrilegious persons. The activity of Melville, and indeed of the ministers generally, against the catholics, must be considered as one of the least defensible parts of their conduct. We are aware that those who believe religion to be supported by works of man's device, will find strong palliations for their actions in their peculiar circumstances; and we do not mean to deny, that when the popish lords trafficked with foreign powers for the subversion of the civil and religious institutions of the country, the government did right in bringing them to account. They then became clearly guilty of a civil offence, and were justly amenable for it to the secular courts. But when the catholics were hunted down for the mere profession of their religion,—when their attachment to their opinions was considered the mere effect of obstinacy, and thus worthy to be visited with the highest pains,—the protestants reduced themselves to the same inconsistency with which they so justly charged their adversaries. If it be urged in defence, that their religion was in danger, we reply, that the conduct of the catholics, previous to the Reformation, was equally defensible on the very same grounds. In both cases was the church of the parties in imminent hazard; and, if we defend the attempt of one party to support theirs by the civil power, with what justice can we condemn the other? A remarkable passage occurs in the account which friar Ogilvie (a Jesuit, who was executed at Glasgow in 1615) has left of his trial. His examiners accused the kings of France and Spain of exterminating the protestants. Ogilvie immediately replied: Neither has Francis banished, nor Philip burned protestants on account of religion, but on account of *heresy*, which is not religion but *rebellion*.² Here, then, is the rock upon which both parties split,—that of considering it a crime to hold certain religious opinions. Both parties were in turn equally zealous in propagating their ideas,—both were justifiable in doing so,—and both equally unjustifiable in their absurd attempts to control the workings of the human mind. Truth, which all parties seem convinced is on their side, must and shall prevail, and the intolerant zeal of man can only prove its own folly and its wickedness. We return to the narrative.

When the king, in October, 1594, determined on opposing the popish lords in person, he was accompanied at his own request by the two Melvilles and two other ministers. Following the Highland system of warfare, these noblemen retired into their fastnesses; and the royal forces, after doing little more than displaying themselves, were ready to disperse, for want of pay. In this

² *Relatio Incarcerationis et Martyrii P. Joannis Ogilbei, &c., Duaci, 1615, p. 24.* This is, of course, the Roman Catholic account. Ogilvie's trial, and a reprint of the Protestant account of it set forth at the time, will be found in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

emergency, James Melville was despatched to Edinburgh and the other principal towns, with letters from the king and the ministers, urging a liberal contribution for their assistance. His services on this occasion, and the spirit infused by Andrew Melville into the royal councils, materially contributed to the success of the expedition.

We have mentioned, that at the interview at Stirling, James Melville had regained the favour of the king; but it is probable that that and subsequent exhibitions of the royal confidence were merely intended to gain him, in anticipation of the future designs of the court relative to the church. In the affair of David Black, Melville had used his influence with the earl of Mar, to procure a favourable result; and, although the king did not express disapprobation of his conduct, but, on the contrary, commanded him to declare from the pulpit at St Andrews, the amicable termination of their quarrel, he observed that from that period his favour uniformly declined. Finding, after two years' trial, that his conduct towards James Melville had not induced him to compromise his principles, the king probably considered all further attempts to gain him quite unnecessary.

In May, 1596, the Covenant was renewed by the synod of Fife, and in the following July by the presbytery of St Andrews; on both which occasions, Melville was appointed "the common mouth." After the last meeting, the barons and gentlemen resolved that he and the laird of Reiras [Rires?] should be sent to the king, to inform him of the report of another Spanish invasion, and of the return of the popish lords; but Melville's interest at court was now on the decline, and his mission met with little encouragement. Returning home, he applied himself assiduously to the duties of his parish. He drew up a "Sum of the Doctrine of the Covenant renewed in the Kirk of Scotland," in the form of question and answer. Upon this the people were catechised during the month of August; and on the first Sunday of September, the Covenant was renewed, and the sacrament administered in the parish of Kilreunyn.

During the next ten years, the life of Melville was spent in a course of opposition, as decided as it was fruitless, to the designs of the court for the re-establishment of episcopacy. While some of his most intimate friends yielded, he remained firm. There was but one point which he could be induced to give up. He was urged by the king (1597) to preach at the admission of Gladstones, the future archbishop, to the church of St Andrews, from which David Black had been ejected; and he did so, in the hope of benefiting some of his distressed friends by the concession; but it afterwards cost him much uncomfortable reflection. In the month of October he visited, along with others appointed for that purpose, the churches in the counties of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross. He had entered upon this duty under considerable mental depression and bodily suffering; and it may be supposed to have been but little diminished, when he detected, during the journey, the plans of the court for the re-establishment of the episcopal order. Finding that his labours on behalf of the church had been attended with so little success, he would willingly have retired from public life, and shut out all reflection on so unsatisfactory a retrospect in the performance of his numerous parochial duties: but a sense of what he owed to the church and to his friends in adversity induced him to continue his discouraging labour; and, accordingly, till he was ensnared into England, whence he was not allowed to return, he made the most unwearied exertions in behalf of presbytery. Except the gratification the mind receives from marking the continued struggles of a good man against adversity, the reader could feel little interest in a minute detail of circumstances, which, with a few changes of place and date, were often repeated. Vexation of mind and fatigue of body at length

brought on an illness in April, 1601, which lasted about a year; but this did not damp his zeal. When he could not appear among his brethren, and subsequent illness not unfrequently compelled him to be absent, he encouraged or warned them by his letters. Every attempt was made to overcome or to gain him. He was offered emoluments and honours, and when these could not shake his resolution, he was threatened with prosecution; but the latter affected him as little. When he was told that the king hated him more than any man in Scotland, "because he crossed all his turns, and was a ringleader," he replied, in the words of the poet,

*Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Examinaveris impotentis iram.*

His conduct on the first anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy, did not tend to mitigate his majesty's wrath. An act of parliament had been passed, ordaining it to be observed as a day of thanksgiving; but as this act had never received the sanction of the church, Melville and others refused to comply with it. They were, therefore, summoned by proclamation to appear before the council, and the king vowed that the offence should be considered capital. They accordingly appeared: but his majesty, finding their determination to vindicate their conduct, moderated his wrath, and dismissed them, after a few words of admonition. The conduct of Melville, in relation to the ministers imprisoned for holding the assembly at Aberdeen, was not less decided. A short time before their trial, the earl of Dunbar requested a conference, in which he regretted to him the state of affairs, and promised that, if the warded ministers would appease the king by a few concessions, the ambitious courses of the bishops should be checked, and the king and church reconciled. With these proposals, Melville proceeded to Blackness, the place of their confinement; but negotiation was too late, for the very next morning they were awakened by a summons to stand their trial at Linlithgow. When they were found guilty of treason, it was considered a good opportunity to try the resolution of their brethren. To prevent all communication with each other, the synods were summoned to meet on one day, when five articles, relative to the powers of the General Assembly and the bishops, were proposed by the king's commissioners for their assent. On this occasion, Melville was confined by illness; but he wrote an animated letter to the synod of Fife, and had the satisfaction of hearing that they and many others refused to comply. This letter was sent by lord Scone, the commissioner, to the king; but the threat to make it the subject of a prosecution does not appear to have been carried into effect.

The court, backed by the bishops, was now pursuing its intentions with less caution than had formerly been found necessary. An act was passed by the parliament of 1606, recognizing the king as absolute prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal,—restoring the bishops to all their ancient honours, privileges, and emoluments, and reviving the different chapters. Andrew Melville had been appointed by his brethren to be present, and protest against this and another act in prejudice of the church, passed at the same time; but measures were taken to frustrate his purpose. No sooner did he stand up, than an order was given to remove him, which was not effected, however, until he had made his errand known. The protest was drawn up by Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling, and the reasons for it by James Melville. The latter document, with which alone we are concerned, is written in a firm and manly style, and shows in the clearest manner, that, in appointing bishops, the parliament had in reality committed the whole government of the church to the king, the prelates being necessarily dependent upon him.

Some months previous to the meeting of this parliament, letters were directed to the two Melvilles, and six other ministers, peremptorily desiring them to proceed to London before the 15th of September, to confer with the king on such measures as might promote the peace of the church. Although this was the alleged cause for demanding their presence at the English court, there can be little doubt that the real object of the king was to withdraw them from a scene where they were a constant check upon his designs. Their interviews with the king and his prelates have been already noticed in the life of Andrew Melville, and it is only necessary to state here, that, after many attempts, as paltry as they were unsuccessful, to win them over, to disunite them, and, when both these failed, to lead them into expressions which might afterwards be made the groundwork of a prosecution, Andrew Melville was committed to the Tower of London. At the same time, James was ordered to leave London within six days for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, beyond which he was not to be permitted to go above ten miles, on pain of rebellion. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain some relaxation of the rigour of his uncle's confinement, he sailed from London on the 2d of July, 1607.³ The confinement of James Melville at Newcastle, was attended by circumstances of a peculiarly painful nature. His wife was at this time in her last illness, but notwithstanding the urgency of the case, he could not be allowed the shortest period of absence; he was, therefore compelled to remain in England, with the most perfect knowledge that he must see his nearest earthly relation no more, and without an opportunity of performing the last duties. It was considered a matter of special favour, that he was allowed to go to Anstruther for the arrangement of his family affairs after her death; and even this permission was accompanied by peremptory orders, that he should not preach nor attend any meetings, and that he should return to England at the end of a month.

The opposition of Melville to episcopacy continued as steady during his exile as it had been during the time of his ministry. When public disputations were proposed, in the following year, between the ministers who had yielded to the government and those who remained opposed, he disapproved of the plan, and stated his objections at full length in a letter to Mr John Dykes. He considered such meetings by no means calculated for edification, and he well knew that, were their opponents to be persuaded by argument, abundant opportunities had already been afforded them. When the conferences were appointed to be held at Falkland and other places, he opposed them on the same grounds; but, as the measure had been already determined on, he advised his brethren by letter to take every precaution for the regularity of their proceedings and the safety of their persons. As Melville had anticipated, no good effect was produced; the prelates were now quite independent of the goodness of their arguments for the support of their cause, and felt little inclination to humble themselves so far as to contend with untitled presbyterians.

Notwithstanding the decided conduct of Melville, several attempts were again made, during his residence at Newcastle, to enlist him in the service of the king. In the month of October, immediately following his sentence of banishment, Sir William Anstruther⁴ waited on him. He was authorized by the king to say that, if Melville would waive his opinions, his majesty would not only receive him into favour, but "advance him beyond any minister in Scotland." Melville replied, that no man was more willing to serve the king in his calling

³ M'Crie's Melville, second edition, vol. ii. p. 187. The date attached by Wodrow to Melville's embarkation, is the 2nd of June, and to his arrival at Newcastle, the 10th of that month.—*Wodrow's Life of James Melville*, p. 132.

⁴ Wodrow's Life of James Melville, p. 133. This gentleman is named Sir John Anstruther by Dr M'Crie; *Life of Melville*, 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 254.

than he, and that his majesty knew very well his affection—what service he had done, and was willing to do in so far as conscience would suffer him; adding that the king found no fault nor ill with him that he knew of, but that he would not be a bishop. “If in my judgment and my conscience,” he concluded, after some further remarks, “I thought it would not undo his majesty’s monarchy and the church of Christ within the same, and so bring on a fearful judgment, I could as gladly take a bishopric and serve the king therein as I could keep my breath within me, so far am I from delighting to contradict and oppose to his majesty, as is laid to my charge; for in all things, saving my conscience, his majesty hath found, and shall find me most prompt to his pleasure and service.” With this reply the conversation ended.

During his exile various attempts were made by his parishioners to obtain leave for his return. In February, 1608, the elders of the church of Anstruther prepared a petition with that view, to be presented to the commissioners of the General Assembly, and when through stratagem they were prevented from presenting it, another was given in to the Assembly which met at Linlithgow in July, 1609. An application to the king on his behalf was promised; but a reply which he made to a most unprovoked attack on the presbyterians in a sermon by the vicar of Newcastle, afforded the bishops and their friends a ready excuse for the non-fulfilment of this promise. To preserve appearances, the prelates did indeed transmit to court a representation in favour of the banished ministers; but this is now ascertained to have been nothing more than a piece of the vilest hypocrisy. A private letter was transmitted at the same time, discouraging those very representations which in public they advocated, and urging the continuation of their banishment in unabated rigour. Equally unfavourable in their results, although we have less evidence of insincerity, were the fair promises of the earl of Dunbar and of archbishop Spottiswood.⁵

We have already noticed the anxious, though unsuccessful, efforts of Melville in behalf of his uncle. During the whole period of the imprisonment of Andrew Melville, his nephew’s attentions were continued. He supplied his uncle with money and such other necessities as could be sent him, and received in return the productions of his muse. About this period their correspondence, which they maintained with surprising regularity, took a turn somewhat out of its usual course. James Melville had now been for two years a widower; he had become attached to a lady, the daughter of the vicar of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and he earnestly begged his uncle’s advice. The match was considered unequal in point of years, and a long correspondence ensued, from which it became evident, that, while James’s respect for his uncle had led him to request his advice, his feelings had previously become too strongly interested to admit of any doubt as to the decision of the question. Finding his nephew’s happiness so deeply concerned in the result, Andrew Melville yielded, and the marriage accordingly took place. Whatever may have been his fears, it is but justice to state, that this connexion led to no compromise of principle, and that it was attended with the happiest results.

It would seem that the bishops, not content with separating James Melville from his brethren, still thought themselves insecure if he was allowed to remain

⁵ Another representation in behalf of Melville appears to have been presented to the Synod of Fife by his parishioners in 1610. Archbishop Gladstones, the only authority for this statement, writes thus on the subject to the king: “As for me, I will not advise your majesty any thing in this matter, because I know not what is the man’s humour as yet, but rather wish that, ere any such man get liberty, our turns took settling a while.” *Life of Gladstones in Wodrow’s Biographical Collections*, (at present printing for the Maitland Club.) vol. i. pp. 274, 5. So little confidence, does it appear, had the bishops in the stability of their establishment.

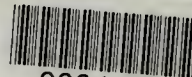
at Newcastle. They accordingly obtained an order for his removal to Carlisle, which was afterwards changed by the interest of his friends to Berwick. About this period he was again urged by the earl of Dunbar to accede to the wishes of the king, but with as little success as formerly. That nobleman therefore took him with him to Berwick, where he continued almost to the date of his death. This period of his life seems to have been devoted to a work on the proper execution of which his mind was most anxiously bent—his *Apology for the Church of Scotland*. This work, which however he did not live to see published, bears the title of “*Jacobi Melvini libellus Supplex Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Apologeticus*.” It was printed at London and appeared in 1645.

About the year 1612, Melville appears to have petitioned the king for liberty to return to his native country. He received for answer that he need indulge no hopes but by submitting absolutely to the acts of the General Assembly of 1610. Such conditions he would not of course accept, and he considered his return altogether hopeless. But the very measures which the king and the bishops had been pursuing were the means of carrying his wishes into effect. The prelates had lately assumed a degree of hauteur which the nobility could ill have brooked, even had they felt no jealousy of a class of men, who, raised from comparative obscurity, now formed a powerful opposition to the ancient councillors of the throne. They therefore determined to exert their influence for the return of the ministers, and to second the representations of their congregations and friends. In this even the bishops felt themselves obliged to join, and they at the same time determined upon a last attempt to obtain from the ministers a partial recognition of their authority, but in this they were unsuccessful. James Melville therefore obtained leave to return to Scotland, but it was now too late. His mind had for some time brooded with unceasing melancholy over the unhappy state of the church, and his health declined at the same time. He had proceeded but a short way in his return home, when he was suddenly taken ill, and was with difficulty brought back to Berwick. Notwithstanding the prompt administration of medicine, his complaint soon exhibited fatal symptoms; and, after lingering a few days, during which he retained the most perfect tranquillity, and expressed the firmest convictions of the justice of the cause in which he suffered, he gently expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and eighth of his banishment.

The character of Melville is so fully developed in the transactions of his life, that if the present sketch is in any degree complete, all attempt at its further delineation must be unnecessary. A list of his works will be found in the Notes to Dr M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*. Of these, one is his *Diary*, which has lately been printed as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, and which has supplied the materials for the present sketch up to 1601, where it concludes. This *Diary*, combining, as it certainly does, perfect simplicity of style with a thorough knowledge of its principles,—containing the most interesting notices of himself and other public men, while it is perfectly free from egotism,—and, above all, indicating throughout, the best feelings both of a Christian and a gentleman, is one of the most captivating articles in the whole range of autobiographical history. It is no less remarkable than, in our estimation, it is unquestionable, that the most interesting additions to Scottish history, brought to light in our times, are written by persons of the same name. We allude to the *Diary of James Melville*, and the *Memoirs of Sir James Melville*, with which it must not be confounded. There is one point, however, in Melville's *Diary*, which must forcibly strike every one who is acquainted with its author's history,—we mean the allusion in many parts of his narrative to whatever evils befell the enemies of the church, as special instances of the Divine vengeance for their

opposition to its measures. We mean not to deny that, in many cases, its enemies were highly criminal, although we are just as far from asserting that the ministers did not sometimes arrogate to themselves most extravagant powers; far less do we mean to deny, that the Almighty does, in many cases, for obviously wise purposes, connect the crime and its punishment, even in this world. But against what, if not against this arrogant system of interpretation, can the words of our Saviour, in reference to those eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam had fallen, or those Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, be directed? And what, moreover, according to this doctrine, must we infer from the events of Melville's own last years? We can scarcely consider him, if his misfortunes are to be the measure of our condemnation, anything short of Sallust's description of Catiline,—“*homo omnium quos terra continet sceleratissimus.*”

But while we condemn this theory, in connexion with James Melville's name, justice requires the admission, that it was by no means a peculiar tenet of his,—it was the doctrine of an age, rather than of an individual. It is, moreover, let it ever be remembered, to such men as Andrew and James Melville, that we owe much of our present liberty; and, but for their firmness in the maintenance of those very principles which we are so apt to condemn, we might still have been acting those bloody scenes which have passed away with the reigns of Charles and of James. They struggled for their children,—for blessings, in the enjoyment of which they could never hope to participate. And let not us, who have entered into their labours, in our zeal to exhibit our superior enlightenment, forget or underrate our obligations. The days may come when our privileges may be taken away; and how many of those who condemn the zeal and the principles of their forefathers, will be found prepared to hazard so much for conscience' sake, or to exhibit even a small portion of their courage and self-denied patriotism, in the attempt to regain them?



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